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## GALAHAD AND PERCEVAL<sup>1</sup>

### I

The supplanting of Perceval, the nephew of the maimed fisher-king as the promised knight in the grail quest by Galahad, the son of Lancelot and Helaine, would be a remarkable enough incident in the history of mediaeval literature if the two knights were not related to each other; by the establishment of blood-relationship between the two heroes it has been rendered unique in the literary history of all times.

The discrepancies and contradictions caused in the Arthurian prose-romances by this change, which was brought about almost without protest—I take the *Didot-Perceval* to be a kind of protest—because it was flattering to the popular taste of the time, which ran high in favor of Lancelot, “the best knight in the world,” are well known to all who are acquainted with the *Estoire* and *Queste del Saint Graal*, and so are the unsatisfactory results of the several attempts that have been made to elucidate the complicated situation. I need not, therefore, sacrifice any of my limited space to recapitulate either.

After devoting many years to the study of the mass of MSS and the methods of the scribes who copied them, without a knowledge of which the searcher after truth in this intricate and perplexing field of literature cannot hope to be successful, as I

<sup>1</sup> For the third and last instalment of the original text, see pp. 322-41, following this introduction.

had learned when I studied Malory's sources, I too have arrived at a solution of the problem, very different, as will be seen, from any proposed by scholars before me. Whether it prove acceptable to all or not, those who are qualified to judge must be impressed by the enormous amount of labor and thought I have devoted to the subject, and they cannot fail to recognize that my solution, based as it is on the MSS, is natural and more probably correct than any other, and that it is original.

Paulin Paris, who wrote upon this subject: "Il faut donc qu'il y ait eu dans le travail des arrangeurs du texte définitif une confusion dont il est devenu impossible de sortir,"<sup>1</sup> has already pointed out that there exists one MS at the Bibliothèque Nationale, viz., MS fr. No. 751,<sup>2</sup> which on fol. 444c contains a passage clearly demonstrating that a Perceval-quest and not a Galahad-quest was joined to the primitive *Lancelot*. I have unearthed a similar passage in MS Lansdown No. 757, British Museum, which on fol. 164a runs:

& lo grant conte de lancelot couient repairer au grant conte de perseuax qui est chef de toz les contes au cheualiers & tut sont branches de li par ceo que li acheua la grant queste de graal. et li conte perseuax meismes est une branche del haut conte de graal. qui est chef de toz les contes car por lo graal se trauelerent tot li bon cheualier don len parloit a cele temps.

Neither MS fr. 751 nor MS fr. 747 of the Bibliothèque Nationale is therefore any longer unique.<sup>3</sup>

But while only two of all the *Lancelot* MSS, known at the present day, allude to a Perceval-quest at the end of Part I,<sup>4</sup> all MSS and all printed editions contain more or less distorted evidence of its existence in the seventh *laisse* of Part I. After having appropriated the kingdoms of the unfortunate brothers Ban and Boors, Claudas conceives the idea of paying in disguise a visit

<sup>1</sup> *Romans de la table ronde*, Vol. II, p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Athenæum*, September 1, 1906. I have claimed the credit for having found the last eight leaves of MS fr. 749, which were missing for nearly a hundred years, and for having first seen in MS, Add. 32125 British Museum, the often-discussed passage at the end of the Merlin referring to Robert de Borron's plans, and also on fol. 214a a unique reference to Gautier de Montbeliard."

<sup>4</sup> I have replaced the arbitrary division of the *Lancelot* in two parts by one suggested by the early MSS, according to which the so-called *Lancelot* proper consists of two parts equal in length to the *Agravain*.



to Logres in order to convince himself that the accounts he has received of Arthur are true and not exaggerated. He arrives in Logres at a time when Arthur, who has not been king for very long, and is only seven months married to Guenever, is still at war with some of his rebellious barons. Before reference is made in the story to Arthur's "largeshe & sa deboinarete & son grant sens & sa bonte," the charms of Guenever are extolled. She is very wise, and of such surpassing beauty that only two women of her time can be compared to her. One is "Helaine sans per," the wife, as we learn, later on, of "Persides le rous;" the other is described thus on fol. 8d of MS, Add. 10293:

Et lautre fu fille au roi mahaigie. Che fu li rois pelles qui fu peires a amite meire galaat chelui qui vit apertement les grans meruelles del graal. Et acompli le siege perillous de la table reonde. Et mena a fin les auentures del roialme perelleus & auentureus. Che fu li roialmes de logres. Cele fu sa suer si fu de si grantbiaute que nus des contes ne dist que a son tans fust ne se peust de biaute a lui apparellier. Et si auoit non amite en sornon. & en son droit non helizabel.

Beyond the unfamiliar name given to Pelles' daughter, this passage is only striking for the contradiction that Amide or Helizabel is said to be both Galahad's mother and his sister. Paulin Paris does not mention this passage although it is found in the MS which forms the basis of his synopsis, nor does it appear to have attracted the attention of any other scholar.

Having excited my suspicion, "cele fu sa suer" induced me gradually to examine all the *Lancelot* MSS that came into my hands. I found that while a similar passage occurs in all MSS and printed editions, only Nos. 110, 111, 113, 773 Bibl. Nat.; Royal B. vii. Brit. Mus., No. 3481 Bibl. de l'Ars., have the name "Galahad," and MSS Nos. 96, 98, 116, 118, 121, 339, 341, 751, 753, 768, 16999 Bibl. Nat.; Royal 20. D. iii Brit. Mus.; Nos. 3479-80 Bibl. de l'Ars.; No. 8230, Philip's Collect. Cheltenham, and the MS of Mr. Henry Yates Thompson, London; the printed editions of 1488, 1494, 1513, 1520 (?), 1533, and the Italian edition (without date) printed at Venice, all have "Perceval." There are variations noticeable in the names;<sup>1</sup> mother occurs

<sup>1</sup>Amide; anite; aude; amite; amides; enite. Eliabel; Elizabel; Heliabel; Helizabel; Elizaboth; Elizabet. Pelesuau; perleuau; perlesuax; perleuax; percoual; parcouau.

in one or two instances for sister; in one case Amide is Pelles' wife (!) and Perceval's sister. The printed editions suppress "cele fu sa suer." As a typical example I quote the passage from MS fr. No. 751 Bibl. Nat., fol. 9c:

& li autre si fu fille au roi mehaigrie ce fu li rois pelles (peres) perleuaus. a celui qui uit apertement les granz merueilles dou graal. & acompli le siege perillox de la table reonde. & mena a fin les auanturez dou roiaume auenturex. Ce fu li regnez de logres. Cele fu sa suer si fu de si grant biate que nus des contes ne dit que nulle qui a son tans fust se poist a li de biate aparillier. Si auoit non amide a sornon. & a son droit non elielabel.

Thus the MSS afford additional evidence in favor of a Perceval-quest having been connected with the primitive *Lancelot*, but the passage as it is found in the best of them, is not of much help to the critic because it blunders in the relationship of Pelles and Perceval. At least this was my opinion. The promised knight was not the son but the nephew of the maimed fisher-king.

As almost invariably happens when one searches for something, one is inclined to overlook what is near at hand. It was the last MS I looked at which confirmed my suspicion, and realized my hopes that *uncle* must have occurred in the original MS instead of *father*. The scribe of Royal 19. C. xiii<sup>1</sup>—the only one of all the known MSS—has preserved the original text here, and in some other instances, but he too allows the daughter of Pelles to be both sister and cousin of Perceval, and remembering that Perceval has been supplanted by Galahad, crosses the former's name out, and writes the latter in smaller letters above it. On fol. 7a we read:

<sup>1</sup> In this MS on fol. 27d occurs another passage which most probably had some connection with the *P.-L. Quest*, and which has been utilized by the writer of the *Estoire*. After Lancelot has conquered "dolerous garde," the text goes on: "lors sen part de la meson & ele estoit bien a. xxx. liwes englesches loing de nobaut. sen estoit mestres uns prudoms qui auoit non lucans cil estoit del lignage Iosep de arimathije qui porta le seint graal en engleterre qui lors fu apelee la grant bretaine cil & son lignage conquistrent la terre mescreant a nostre seigneur & de lui gist li cors a cele meson de religion dont nus aues oi."

In MS Royal 19. B. vii. fol. 39d the end of this passage runs thus: "si auoit a non li mestres leucan. Cil leucan fu filz i(o)seph de barimacie cil dont li grans lignages descendi par par qui la grans bretaine fu puis enluminee. car il aporтерent le graal & conquistrent la terre mescreant. & de celui gist le cors en cele maison de religion."

While it is clear from these two MSS that Joseph's tomb was in the abbey, and that "mestres lucans" was alive when Lancelot visited the place, all other above-named MSS and printed editions call the abbey "la sepulchre leucan," and state that "de cil leucan gist li cors en cele maison de religion."

& lautre fu la fille al roi pelles le roi Mahaingne lo oncle <sup>galaad</sup> ~~perceval~~ qui uit apertement les merueilles del seint graal. & acompli lo sege perilleus de la table ronde. & mena a fin les merueilles del roiaume auentureus co fu li reaumes de logres. cele fu sa soer si fu de si grant beaute que len ne sauoit en son tens nule si bele & auoit non amide en sornon & en son droit Eliabel.

In this form the passage is of the greatest possible critical value. It establishes the fact that in the Perceval-quest of the primitive *Lancelot* (henceforth referred to as *P.-L. Quest*, i. e., Perceval-Lancelot Quest) the same relationship existed between Perceval and the maimed fisher-king as in Chrétien and other versions. Amide<sup>1</sup> or Eliabel is the name of Perceval's sister, and most important of all, *Pelles*, *Perceval's uncle*, is the maimed fisher-king.

In *Romania*,<sup>2</sup> Vol. XXXVI, pp. 369-402, and pp. 543-90, I stated that I have come to the conclusion the writer of the trilogy which I have recalled from oblivion and reconstructed, made use for his quest (*G.-D. Quest*, i. e., Galahad-Demanda Quest) of the original Galahad quest (*G.-E. Quest*, i. e., Galahad-Estoire<sup>3</sup> Quest) modeled on *P.-L. Quest*, and that the vulgate-quest (*G.-L. Quest*, i. e., Galahad-Lancelot Quest) now found in the *Lancelot* is not a faithful reproduction of *G.-E. Quest*. I now add: *G.-E. Quest* together with the *Estoire* formed, at the outset, a harmoniously arranged whole, independent of the *Lancelot*, but anticipating various incidents in it in the shape of predictions or prophecies. To this conclusion I was led by studying the trilogy. The combination *Estoire* plus *G.-E. Quest* may have been the work of one or two persons. I incline to think that one man was responsible for both, for both are marked by the same characteristics; the same lack of originality and ingenuity is observable in the second, in all probability the anterior, part as in the first. The writer first modified *P.-L. Quest*. His work is at best an adaptation of the circumstances surrounding the original hero

<sup>1</sup> Amida is the name of Galahad's mother, Pelles' daughter in the Portuguese *Demanda*.

<sup>2</sup> The quest of the Holy Grail forming the third part of the trilogy indicated in the *suite du Merlin*, Huth MS.

<sup>3</sup> *Estoire* is short for *Estoire del Saint Graal*, the title given in the early MSS to what E. Hucher calls "*Le Grand St. Graal*."

Perceval to the altered conditions created by the adoption of the new hero Galahad. And as Lancelot, his father, was in reality the motive of the change, he too had to be provided with a principal part. Everything points to the fact that the writer freely copied his original, often confining himself to a mere change of names. A comparison of Chrétien with *G.-E. Quest*, in so far as it is possible through the medium of *G.-D. Quest*, makes it highly probable that many incidents told of Lancelot were in the prototype associated with Perceval. Perceval, the cousin of Galahad, was relegated to the second line and placed on equal footing with Boors, the cousin of Lancelot; as a sort of compensation Perceval was allowed to keep Galahad company, and to make this arrangement less awkward Boors was added as third companion. Pelles having become the grandfather of Galahad had to cede his original part of maimed fisher-king to his brother Helain or Alain, Pel-helain, or Pel-alain, for thus, I believe, the names Pelehan and Pelean were created. When the second part was completed Robert de Borron's *Joseph of Arimathia* was dealt with in the same way as *P.-L. Quest*. All sorts of episodes and incidents were embodied which had, at the outset, no connection whatever with the grail-legend. To bridge over the space of time between the age of Joseph and that of Arthur, the genealogies were invented which connect Galahad on father's and mother's side, and the other *dramatis personae* with those figuring in the *Joseph*. But whatever were the shortcomings of the combination, inconsistency was not one of them. As the first part was by deliberate design in every respect the supplement of the second and vice-versa, there existed no discrepancies between them, there was complete harmony everywhere.

From the fact that *P.-L. Quest*, and not the *Perceval* in the Didot MS, was utilized in conjunction with Robert's *Joseph* it may be inferred that the writer did not know it. I hold, as I shall show elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> that it did not yet exist.

<sup>1</sup> Having copied the metrical *Joseph* and what is left of the *Merlin* some years ago for my own use from MS fr. No. 20047 Bibl. Nat., because I was unable to obtain a copy of Francisque Michel's edition of Bordeaux 1841, and F. J. Furnivall's edition of H. Lovelich's *History of the Holy Grail* (1861) was beyond my reach, I have just decided to utilize my copy for a new edition of Robert's poem.

With these preliminary remarks I now proceed to examine *G.-L. Quest*, taking F. J. Furnivall's text<sup>1</sup> as a basis:

In *G.-L. Quest* Pelles is, on pp. 3, 17, 122, 229, clearly stated to be Galahad's grandfather.

In contradiction to these statements we find Galahad on pp. 7 and 236 just as clearly described as the nephew of Pelles, while in the first case his grandfather is distinctly mentioned as being "le riche pescheor."

On p. 121 Galahad's grandfather Pelles (the name is not mentioned but must be inferred from the terms "car tu lengendras en la fille au roi pescheour") is the fisher-king; twice we find the name Pelles coupled with the title "le roi mehaaignie," viz., pp. 188 and 235.

According to *Estoire, Vulgate Merlin, Lancelot*, Parts I and II, *G.-D. Quest*, and the *Tristan MSS*, not influenced by *G.-L. Quest*, Pelles is neither maimed nor is he called the fisher-king; his daughter, the niece of the fisher-king, is the keeper of the grail, in conformity with the degree of relationship adhered to in all versions.

It is strange, indeed, that of all the scholars who have dealt with the *G.-L. Quest*, not one has realized that in this respect, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, *G.-L. Quest* is in complete agreement with all other versions as can easily be demonstrated.

When Galahad, Perceval, and Boors have arrived at Corbenic and have been welcomed by King Pelles, who is said to shed tears of joy over his *nephew* Galahad, we read on p. 237:

Quant vint a eure de vespres si commença li tans a oscurchir . . . et maintenant oient vne vois qui lor dist. chil qui ne doiuent seoir a la table ihesu crist si sen voient. car ia seront repeu li urai cheualier de la viande du chiel. quant il oient cheste parole si sen alerent tout fors de laiens. fors li rois pelles qui ert preudom et heliezer son fil et vne puchele nieche le roi qui ert la plus religieuse chose que on seust en nule terre. et o ches .iii. remesent li .iii. compaignon.

Later, on p. 237, after four damsels have brought in "vns preudons mal haities par samblant et auoit vne corone sour sa

<sup>1</sup> F. J. Furnivall, *La Queste del Saint Graal*, Roxburghe Club, London, 1864.

teste," on a wooden bed, who welcomes Galahad as the one whom he has long expected, for "lons tans a" that he had been promised that by him he would be relieved from his suffering, a voice is once more heard:

Chil qui na este compains de la queste. Si se departeche de chi car il nest pas drois quil ni remaigne. Si tost comme cheste parole fu dite: si sen issi li rois pelles et heliezer ses fieus et la puchiele.

According to both passages Pelles is in the full enjoyment of all his faculties, both mental and physical; he is said to walk out, he is not carried, nor is he anywhere else stated to be prostrated on a sickbed, as a person whose legs are maimed would naturally be, and as the maimed king is in *G.-D. Quest* as in all other versions.

When on pp. 240, 241, Galahad performs the act of healing the maimed king (who is *not* named Pelles) by the holy lance and the drops of blood, the latter rises from his bed, and thanks God for his recovery; in order to do this it is evident that he must have been bedridden up to the moment the act of healing took place. The additional information that he retires to a hermitage or an abbey to spend the remainder of his days in the service of God, very similarly told in *G.-D. Quest* of Peleanz, and the almost literal agreement in the last sentences in both versions, viz:

*MS fr. 343 Bibl. Nat.*, fol. 103 d

et demena leienz si bone uie et si glorieuse tant com il i uesqui que nostre sires fist puis por la soe amor maint bel miracle et mainte belle merueille que nostre liure ne deuisse mie.

*F. J. Furnivall's text*, pp. 240, 241

si fist puis nostres sires mainte biele miracle pour lamour de lui dont li contes ne parole nient ichi endroit pour che quil nen est mie mestiers.

clearly points to the fact that the prototype of the maimed king was the same in both versions, and that both descend from a common original, i. e., *G.-E. Quest*, modeled on *P.-L. Quest*.

What further proof can be needed to convince anyone that Pelles in *G.-L. Quest* is not, and is not meant to be, and cannot be the maimed king, and that the several statements to this effect are blunders, traces of *P.-L. Quest* in which they were perfectly correct, left behind through carelessness.

As to *P.-L. Quest*, we only know positively that Pelles, the maimed fisher-king, was Perceval's uncle. From *G.-D. Quest* we may however reasonably infer, and this all the more readily as all other versions agree, that Pelles' brother Pellinor was the father of Perceval and Amide. A second uncle of Perceval, named Alain or Pelean, and the father of the three brothers,<sup>1</sup> too, may probably have been mentioned. It is, of course, impossible to find out if Pelles' children Eliezer and Helaine as we find them in *G.-L. Quest*, in *Merlin*, in *Lancelot*, and in the *Tristan* were named, and if so, if they were not the children of Pelean.

As to *G.-E. Quest*, in so far as we are able to judge through the medium of *G.-D. Quest*, Pelean took the part of Pelles when the latter became Galahad's grandfather. Elaine thus stood to the maimed fisher-king in exactly the same relation as Perceval in *P.-L. Quest*. Pellinor remained Perceval's father.

In *G.-L. Quest* not Pelean but Pellinor takes the part played by Pelles in *P.-L. Quest*, as is shown by the earliest MSS of the *Lancelot* containing *G.-L. Quest*: "Vours fu que li rois pellinors cui len apele lo roi Mahaingnez."<sup>2</sup> Pelles, as in *G.-E. Quest*, is Galahad's maternal grandfather; and as the maimed fisher-king cannot well, in contradiction to all tradition, be made father of Perceval, this part is allotted to Pellehan or Pellean, and thus the statement in *G.-L. Quest*, that has given so much trouble in the past, is naturally explained and accounted for—I mean the answer of Perceval's sister: "iou sui vostre suer & fille au roi pellehan." Most probably the mixing-up of Pellinor and Pellehan was not intended, but is the consequence of an accident.

This careless arranger is probably responsible for yet another anomaly. The niece of Pelles, who is in his and his son's company when Galahad, Perceval, and Boors come to Corbenic, and who is in MS Royal 19. C. xiii, fol. 319 b, thus described:

& une mut bele pucele qui estoit nece lo roi & estoit uirge en uolente & en oeure & la plus religieuse que len seust

<sup>1</sup> Although Pelles' family must, by inference, be assumed to have consisted of father and three sons, there is no passage to be found, as far as I know, in any of the versions, wherein all the members are mentioned, as would appear from Paulin Paris' parenthesis in *Romans de la table ronde*, Vol. II, p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> MS Royal 19. I. xiii, fol. 311 c; MS Royal 20. D. ii, fol. 267 b; Brit. Mus. Also several of the MSS at the Bibliothèque Nationale.



is no other than Amide or Eliabel, Perceval's sister, who has been allowed to live on in *G.-L. Quest*, oblivious of the fact that she had died after giving her blood to heal the leprous lady.

The combination of *Estoire* plus *G.-E. Quest*, it would seem, was a sort of *ballon d'essai*. When it was found that the substitution of the son of Lancelot for Perceval was approved and popular, it was decided to eliminate *P.-L. Quest* from the *Lancelot* and replace it by *G.-E. Quest*. Unfortunately the task was intrusted to the wrong man. In order to effect the change it was necessary also to eliminate certain antecedents of Perceval in the second and third parts<sup>1</sup> of the *Lancelot* and to replace them by an account of Galahad's conception and birth and by some information at least of the third grail quester, Boors. The result was the addition in almost exactly equal portions to the second and third parts of the *Lancelot* of a narrative very similar to the text published under the title of "Galahad and Perceval" in the current volume of *Modern Philology*. But instead of radically suppressing *P.-L. Quest* and substituting *G.-E. Quest* for it, the arranger set to work to adjust, correct, and modify *P.-L. Quest* according to *G.-E. Quest*, and, as he was neither a clever and careful, nor a judicious worker, the result of his labors was the unsatisfactory piece of work we now possess in the *Lancelot*. How superficially he accomplished his task is seen by the fact that while he replaced the name of Perceval by Galahad's, he allowed the tell-tale references "neuen" and "aioul" to stand, thus enabling me after more than seven centuries to find him out and expose him.

From all I have said it must have become clear that inconsistencies between *Estoire* and *G.-L. Quest* cannot be a matter of surprise. But there were none between *Estoire* and *G.-E. Quest*, and there ought to be none in the *Estoire* itself. There is, however, one passage found in Galahad's genealogy on the maternal side, which has given rise to much speculation, and which has

<sup>1</sup> It is surprising what great importance the scribes and arrangers of the prose-romances attached to making their parts equal in length. According to the best MSS, e. g., the *Estoire* plus R. de Borron's *Merlin* was equal in length to the *Vulgate Merlin*. The three parts of the *Lancelot* are all approximately equal in length, and if one knows, e. g., the number of leaves the *Agravain* occupies, one can, within a leaf or two, determine the beginning of the second part. The three equal parts of the trilogy are another example and the same tendency may be observed in the *Tristan* MSS.

caused trouble to more than one critic. I mean the passage which runs, e. g., in MS, Add. 32125, fol. 202*d*: "Après le rei lambor regna pellehan son fiz qui fu maigne de .ii. cuisses . . . de ce pellehan descendi vn rei qui ot non pelles," i. e., almost literally the same as in Royal 14. E. iii, printed on the margin of F. J. Furnivall's edition of Lovelich's metrical translation.

If this passage be correct and Pellehan, the *father* of Pelles, and not Pelles' *brother*, be "le roi mehaignie," the *Estoire* is not consistent in itself, for the simple reason that Galahad's genealogy from Josephe in comparison to his genealogy from Nascien's son Celidoine would be one generation too short, and the prophecy of the angel when he explains the wonders of the lance to Josephe and Nasciens, after the former has been struck by it, would not be fulfilled, a slip that is very unlikely to have occurred to the writer of the *Estoire*. This prophecy runs in the Mans MS, ed. E. Hucher, Vol. II, p. 312, thus:

ne jamais chou saches-tu (vraiment) les mierveilles dedens le Graal ne seront véues par nul mortel houme que un tout seul et chil sera. . . . Et de cesté lance dont tu as estés ferus, ne sera jamais férus que uns seus hom, et chil sera roys et descendra de ton lignage, si sera li daarains des buens; chil sera férus parmi les quisses ambes deux ne ja n'en garra jusques à tant que les merueilles del saint Graal seront descouviertes à celui qui sera plains de toutes bontés. Et chil qui ces merueilles verra, si sera li daarains hom dou lignage Nascien et tout autres si comme Nasciens a estet li premiers hom qui les mierueilles dou Graal ait veues, autressi sera chil daarains hom qui les verra; car che dist li vraies crucefis au premier houme del pressieus lignage, et au daarain aage devise à démostrer mes merueilles, etc.

But this passage is inconsistent, too, with *P.-L. Quest*, where Pelleham, as we have seen, is said to be the father of Perceval, and with all other versions, where either Pelles himself or one of his brothers is declared to be the maimed king. The only version which appears to be, but is not in accord with the *Estoire* on this point is *G.-D. Quest*, which in so many other respects is in harmony with it, based as it is on *G.-E. Quest*. But the Pelleanz, who in *G.-D. Quest* is the maimed king, is not anywhere stated to be a brother of Pelles, Galahad's maternal grandfather, and of Pellinor, Perceval's father. From the second book of the trilogy,

much of which is found in the Huth MS, we learn that this Pelleanz was brother of one Garlan who possessed the power of rendering himself invisible when he was on horseback, and who was slain by Balaain, the knight of the two swords. It is when Pelleanz attempts to revenge his brother's death upon Balaain, that he receives the dolorous stroke, by which the kingdom of Listenois is turned into "la terre gastee ou la terre foraine," and from the effects of which he is maimed and can only recover when Galahad will visit him. The description, "roi de Listenois," points to the fact that the Pelleanz of the trilogy, too, must originally have been suggested by a brother of Pelles. This fundamental change in the second book of the trilogy, brought about by the introduction of a new element into the narrative, has but very slightly modified *G.-D. Quest*, in fact, beyond the statement attributed to the maimed king, when Galahad has come: "descouure ses cuisses, et dit ueez ci li doloureux cop que li cheualiers as deus espees fist," nothing would enable us, without the help of the second book, to recognize that the circumstances connected with the cause of the maiming are entirely different, and that the Pelleanz of the trilogy is not the Pellehan of the *Estoire*. It is, therefore, clearly proved that the *Estoire* stands alone against all other versions, in making Pelles' father and not his brother maimed king.

The prophecy above quoted confirms, too, my assertion that *G.-D. Quest* is derived from *G.-E. Quest*, and that this was in every respect in harmony with the *Estoire*. In *G.-D. Quest* (compare MS 343, fol. 103c, and Portuguese MS, No. 2594, fol. 180d) Galahad alone, as here stated, sees the wonders of the grail, and then he returns to his companions, including Perceval and Boors whom he had left behind "el paleis auenturex."

I have shown above that Pelles was not intended to be, and indeed is not the maimed king in *G.-L. Quest*, although this error has never been detected, and having been taken as a fact has upset all theories. I now ask: Is the passage in the *Estoire* cited above to be trusted? Do not the prophecy and all the other versions including *G.-L. Quest* point to the contrary?

I very much doubt that in the original MS of the *Estoire* this passage was found as it occurs in many MSS, and in the light of

all the results I have arrived at, I incline to the belief that through the oversight of one of the scribes of the early MSS, from which most of those we now have descend, something was omitted in it. That this is not a mere subterfuge to find an explanation for an enigmatic situation, but a possibility that has seriously to be taken into account by the critic dealing with the MSS of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has been amply demonstrated in the present article. Only one MS has been shown to contain the partly correct passage referring to *P.-L. Quest*; only two MSS have not made an almost incredible mess of the passage speaking of Leucan and Joseph's tomb. There is only one solitary MS known to exist, as I have mentioned in *Romania*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 381, in which is found the passage mentioning Ygerne's illness and death caused by her ever-growing longing for her lost son, i. e., Arthur. There are only two MSS found in which Robert de Borron's plans are discussed at the end of his *Merlin*, while only one has the reference to Gautier de Montbeliard. Many more instances might be adduced if any were needed.

My suspicion that the passage is faulty is strengthened by other points.

While in the form above quoted the indications of omissions have been suppressed, the passage<sup>1</sup> as it runs, e. g., in the Mans MS, E. Hucher, Vol. III, p. 295, shows a different aspect:

Apries le roy Lambor régna Pellehans et ses fieus qui fu mahagnies des .ii. quisses . . . Et d' icelui Pèlleham descendi uns roys qui ot non Pelles.

This is not the ordinary way, at least not in prose, of declaring that Pellehans is the son of Lambor. I take it that "fieus" does not imply a son of Lambor, but of Pellehans, and I am confirmed in this belief by the suppression lower down of "fieus" in reference to Pelles, which certainly existed in the original, as it is still to be found in other MSS. It was, too, in the MS which Henry Lovelich the Skinner translated, for in the Corpus Christi MS, ed. F. J. Furnivall, p. 373, ll. 495-97, we read:

<sup>1</sup> I have seen somewhere at Paris, Cheltenham, or Brussels a MS which still more strongly suggests that this passage is not reliable, but I cannot, at the present moment, lay hands on my note.

thanne Aftyr Of this kyng PelleAn  
 discendid Anothir ful worthy Man,  
 his owne Sone, and was Called Pelles.

This translation not only proves that Pelles was called Pellean's son, but it also suggests by the term "anothir" that at least one man was mentioned before who also descended from Pellean, and who was also "his owne Sone." Who was this son? My answer is, the maimed king, who is described as having been wounded "en une bataille (de Roume)." And the *Vulgate Merlin* makes my answer more definite by supplying his name, viz., Alain or Helain.

Upon another occasion I hope to show that what we now call the *Vulgate Merlin* stands to an original or primitive *Merlin*, which there is every reason to believe was anterior to several sections at least of the *Lancelot*, and which too must have ended with a *Mort Arthur* in about the same relation as *G.-L. Quest* to *G.-E. Quest*; in other words, that it is a careless piece of work, one in which many statements contradicting one another have been allowed to subsist.

As to this *Mort Arthur*, in which not Lancelot but Gavain was the best knight in the world, and the love of Lancelot for Arthur's queen found no place, I have strong reason to suppose that it supplied the poet of the English metrical version, represented by Robert Thornton's MS in the library of Lincoln Cathedral, with the framework or the source of his romance,<sup>1</sup> and it was most probably also the one which was known to the man who felt called upon in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, to supply a (not the) third link to Robert de Borron's *Joseph* and *Merlin* by writing under the much-abused title of *Prophecies of Merlin* what is known by the name of the *Didot-Perceval*.

There are four passages in the *Vulgate-Merlin* which concern us here. I have seen them in all the known *Merlin* MSS in London, Paris, Brussels, and Cheltenham,<sup>2</sup> but as there do not exist

<sup>1</sup> As Huchown was a poet of no mean order we may well assume that he has not so servily dealt with his French source as Henry Lovelich did with the *Graut* and *Merlin*, but has "adorned his tale."

<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Nat. MSS fr. 337, 747, 344, 770, 95, 24394, 110, 749, 19162, 105, 9123, 98, 96, 117, 113, 332, 112; Bibl. de l'Arsenal: Nos. 3350, 3479, 3480, 3482; Brit. Mus. Add. 10292, Harl. 6340, Philip's Collect. Cheltenham, Nos. 1045, 1046, 1047, 3630, 3643; printed editions of 1498, Rouen (undated), 1528; the English prose *Merlin* and Henry Lovelich's metrical translation. His copy of the latter Dr. E. Kock kindly sent me from Lund, as only part of it is so far published by the Early English Text Society.

any important variations between the MSS, I have elected to quote these passages according to one of the earliest ones in the Bibliothèque Nationale, viz., MS fr.<sup>1</sup> 747. On fol. 116c of this MS we read:

## 1

ne par deca del roi pelles de listenois car il garde le roi pellinor son frere qui gist malades dune maladie dont il naura iames garison tant que cil uenra laienz qui les auentures del saint graal metra a fin que cil. Ne del roi alfin<sup>2</sup> lor frere qui gist malades qui ne gaira iusqua tant que li meldres cheualiers (des) bretons uenra & li aura demande por coi il ot cele maladie & quel chose li graax est (&) que len an sert.

On fol. 129b there is found the following paragraph<sup>3</sup> which deals with the same subject as the one quoted above from the *Lancelot*, very probably a reproduction of it, extolling Guenever's beauty and stating that only two women of her time are comparable to her, viz., "Helainne sans per qui fu feme persides le rous," and

## 2

la fille le roi pelles de listenois del chastel de corbenyc. qui fu niece le riche roi pescheor & le roi malade de plaies dont li uns ert apelez alains des illes an listenois. & cil ert malades de maladies de plaies & li riches rois qui estoit apelez mehaigniez estoit naurez parmi les .ii. cuisses de la lance uengeresse & fu apelez par son droit non quant il estoit en sante li rois pellinor de listenois. & li rois alains & li rois pelinor si furent frere germain & cele pucele dont ie uos di si estoit lor niece & fille le roi pelles qui frere (estoit) a ces .ii. dont ie uos ai dit icele pucelle fu la plus bele que len ueist onques an la terre & la plus nete. icele garda le santisme graal iusquitel ior que galaad fu engendrez.

The last two passages are the only ones in the *Merlin* where the name of Perceval occurs.

<sup>1</sup> I purposely avoid MS fr. 337, generally, according to Paulin Paris' example, stated to be the earliest *Mertin* MS known, because I do not share this opinion; why, I shall explain when I shall deal with the *Vulgate Merlin*.

<sup>2</sup> All other MSS have Alain, Alein, or Helain.

<sup>3</sup> This is also imitated in the *Tristan*. On one occasion Celices asks Lancelot whom the latter considers the most beautiful woman. Lancelot replies Guenever surpasses all; the second is Iseut of Cornwall, the third, "Helaine sans pair," the fourth, "la fille du roi Pelles;" in some MSS the third is "Helaine la fille de Pelles," and the fourth "la reine d'Orcanie." Compare E. Lœseth, *Analyse critique des MSS du Tristan*, etc., §484. In the *Estoire* the lines: "Ichil ot une fille qui passa de biautet toutes les femmes qui onques fuisent en la Grant-Bretaigne se con ne fu seulement la royne Genievre la femme le roy Artu" (E. Hucher, Vol. III, pp. 235, 236) are suggested by this passage.

Of all the knights who distinguished themselves in the battle of Bredigan was one who surpassed all the rest of them. This was a certain Nasciens of whom we read on fol. 150c:

## 3

& li contes des ueraies estoires dit & tesmoigne quil estoit cousins germains perceual lou galois de par sa mere dont il parlera ca auant car leus nan est ores mie. si dit ancores li conte que il (fu) bien proichiens paranz ioseph de barimacie car il fu filz anhignes<sup>1</sup> la seror Joseph qui fu fame & espouse ambron qui. xii. fil orent dont la terre de bretaigne fu puis anluminee & paranz proichiens celidoigne le fil au roi nasciens deberique qui la grant meruoille del saint graal uit premierelement & si apartint moult de pres au roi pelles de listenois & a ses freres. Icil ot puis maint ior Galaad le fil lancelet dou lac (en sa baillie).

This Nasciens, the text continues, was named after the duke Nasciens, who was such a good man. Later on he became a hermit and priest. He was the one who was transported by the Holy Ghost into the third heaven, where he beheld the Holy Trinity. He, too, is the one who by the command of God copied "la sainte estoire," i. e., *lestoire del saint graal* with his own hand, which was joined to Blaise's book. This Nasciens was the hermit who advised Arthur when he was in danger of losing his land, before he became the friend of Galehaut, *le haut prince*.

And the last passage on fol. 179b refers to an incident which is told in *Perceval li Gallois* concerning Arthur's son Lohot, who was killed by Kex, the seneschal of whom it is stated:

## 4

Mes loiaus cheualiers uers son seignor & uers la reine fu il toz iorz iusqua la mort. ne onques en sa uie ne fist traison que une seule & ce fu de lohot le fil au roi artus que il ocist par enuie en la grant forest perilleuse. Ensi come li conte le uos deuisera ca auant moult loing. quant ma matiere mi amenta. Mes itant en dit li contes que perceual li galois lencusa a cort. Ensi comme .i. hermites li reconta qui li auoit veu ocire & tuer.

A perusal of these four passages will convince anyone versed in the grail-literature that they contain references to the *Estoire* and to two different versions of the quest.

The *Merlin*, there can be no doubt, before it was adjusted to the *Lancelot* as we now possess it, took it for granted that Perce-

<sup>1</sup> MS 749: "harengues;" "ebron;" MS 337: "enhyngeus;" "nesecuj" (for brons).



val was the promised knight, who had to ask his uncle, the maimed fisher-king, before he could heal him, what the cause of his malady was, what the grail was, and what purpose it served. Whether the quest referred to was *P.-L. Quest* or *Chrétien*, it is not yet possible to say, but the former seems to me more likely to be the case than the latter.

The man who performed the task of adjusting the *Merlin* to the *Lancelot*, if he was not by chance identical with the one who so admirably (!) adapted the combination *Estoire plus G.-E. Quest* to it, as we have seen above, must have greatly resembled him mentally. That *Estoire plus G.-L. Quest* was utilized for the purpose, and not *Estoire plus G.-E. Quest*, is clearly shown, amongst others, by the following points: (1) Pelles, the grandfather of Galahad, is neither maimed nor fisher-king; (2) Pellinor, and not as in *G.-D. Quest* Pel-Alain, is the "riche pescheor et le roi mahaignie;" (3) The several references to Lancelot and Galahad and to the latter's genealogies which are brought in when the descent of Nasciens is explained; (4) The mentioning of Nasciens the hermit.

It only remains for me to explain the existence, side by side, of two maimed kings, Pellinor and Alain, both brothers of Pelles, and therefore both uncles of Elaine. I have above shown that if we may conclude from *G.-D. Quest*, Helain, Alain, or Pel-helain, Pel-alain was the maimed fisher-king in the combination *Estoire plus G.-E. Quest*. I have also pointed out that instead of substituting *G.-E. Quest* for *P.-L. Quest*, the arranger of the *Lancelot* created the anomalous and inconsistent *G.-L. Quest*. The *Merlin*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the chapter of the *Merlin* dealing with the mission of Lot and his sons to the rebel kings to bring about a truce, and induce them to take common action with Arthur against the Sesnes, we are told that they meet on their way to Arestuel in Scotland a young squire, named Eliezer, the son of Pelles, who is anxious to find Gavain. He wishes to serve him whom he considers the best knight in the world and to obtain the order of knighthood from him. In this connection Eliezer mentions an uncle whom he is anxious to heal, and Pelles speaks of his little girl only five years old who keeps the holy grail. This passage is undoubtedly an interpolation adapted from some other romance. "C'est peut-être le seul fragment conservé d'une branche que les assembleurs auront éliminée. Cette branche, je suppose, était encore l'œuvre de Robert de Borron et contenait la suite des aventures d'Alain et de ses frères." These are Paulin Paris' remarks in *Romans de la Table Ronde*, Vol. II, p. 277. As to being R. de Borron's work, this is out of the question: Pelles lived nine generations after Alain! But that we have to deal here with the fragment of a branch, very probably *P.-L. Quest*, is hardly doubtful. Eliezer plays a part in *G.-D. Quest*; he is twice mentioned in *G.-L. Quest*. What I have above said about the children of Pelles already figuring in *P.-L. Quest*, probably as the third brother Alain's children, appears not to be improbable, when we remember in that version Pelles was the maimed king.

affords evidence that my explanation was not a mere conjecture. The existence of the two maimed kings has a very simple and natural cause. Pellinor owes his presence to *G.-L. Quest*, Alain to the *Estoire*. The adjuster of the *Merlin* finding in the *Estoire* Alain described as the maimed king, and in *G.-L. Quest* Pellinor, found himself in a dilemma, but rather than suppress the wrong king, he decided to let them both exist.<sup>1</sup>

And what is the lesson of it all? The deeper I penetrate into this "*dédale inextricable*," as the late Gaston Paris called the Arthurian prose-romances, the more I feel the truth of what I stated in the Preface to "*Le Roman de Merlin*": the original form of the Arthur-saga will be found to be exceedingly simple. And I realize more than ever that there must have existed before the versions we know others giving an entirely different account of Arthur and Guenever, of Gavain and Lancelot, which were of superior quality, more poetical, more truly representative of popular tradition, and more accurately reflecting the romantic spirit of the Middle Ages. In other words, it becomes clearer and clearer to me that what has come down to us of the Arthurian romances is but a poor substitute, at best a spoilt réchauffé of earlier material, and valuable and interesting only because it is all we have inherited to enable us to form an idea of what we have lost.

## II

The adventures printed in *Modern Philology*, Vol. V, pp. 55-84, 181-200 and 322-41, under the title "Galahad and Perceval," from the *Tristan* MS, Add. 5474, fol. 152c-64a, British Museum,

<sup>1</sup> The scribe of MS 749, while allowing in the second passage on fol. 200c two maimed kings to exist, adopts in the first passage on fol. 183b the erroneous statement of *G.-L. Quest* regarding Pelles: "Ne par deca dou roi pelles de listenois natendons nul secors deuant ce que li mieudres cheualiers dou monde viegne a lui & li demant dont cele maladie li vient et quel choseest li graaus." This may be the shape of the passage (accidentally left untouched) before the adjuster added to Pelles' name, "who has to take care of his brother Pellinor, etc.:" nor can we hope for help from their brother Alain, etc." in perfect harmony with *P.-L. Quest*, in which the maimed Pelles really would have been waiting to be healed by his nephew Perceval. Thus this passage would be additional evidence not only of the existence of *P.-L. Quest* but of its connection with a primitive *Merlin*, just as the quotation from the seventh *laisse* of the first part of the *Lancelot* pointed to its having been joined to that romance. In view of the second passage, however, it must be admitted that another explanation is not impossible, viz., that the scribe, as not infrequently happened, omitted two lines on fol. 183b.

have, at least in their present form, like other sections of the enlarged second part of the *Tristan*, never been published.

These adventures are told by Sir Thomas Malory in the eleventh and twelfth books of *Le Morte Darthur*, and they represent, in two almost equal portions, the additions which the arranger deemed necessary to the primitive *Lancelot*, when he replaced *P.-L. Quest* by *G.-L. Quest*.

In my *Studies on the Sources*, I have briefly compared the corresponding section of *Le Morte Darthur* with the account found in the *Lancelot*. I have pointed out how Malory, recognizing that there were two bearers of the name of Perceval in his French source—the one already a knight of standing and renown is mentioned in the *Tristan*-section, according to the earlier version, the other still a young squire whose arrival at Arthur's court and subsequent receiving the order of knighthood are told in these adventures, according to the later version—suppressed one of them. As he, apparently, did not understand that the former was the original achiever of the grail-quest, while the latter was only Perceval's shadow, the companion of Galahad<sup>1</sup> who had usurped his place, it is not surprising that Malory suppressed the wrong one. What I have said in *Studies* is in the main applicable to the present text. I do not therefore repeat it, reserving my limited space for matters more important.

Already in 1891-92, I was struck by the occurrence of these adventures in a *Tristan* MS, where they were added by an inconsiderate scribe who was unaware that, at least as far as Perceval is concerned, they contradicted what he had previously written. I then arrived at the conclusion that these twenty-two leaves of MS 5474 represented a fragment of a romance, intimately related to, very probably copied from, the *Lancelot*. This hypothetical romance I provisionally named *suite de Lancelot*, without attaching any special value to the term *suite*. What this romance was like in its entirety, whether it was a mere condensation of corresponding sections in the *Lancelot* or embodied material not found therein, I could only conjecture.

<sup>1</sup>In the fifteenth century the *Fulgate* version had for so long been the one read by everyone, that nobody had any idea there ever was another promised knight than Galahad.

E. Wechssler, in his pamphlet *Über die verschiedenen Redaktionen*, etc.,<sup>1</sup> is the only scholar, as far as I know, who expressed the opinion that I was not justified in postulating such a romance, as he could not prove its existence. What I describe as *suite de Lancelot* represents, according to his theories, *Bruchstücke der älteren Redaktion*, A.

As I have in *Romania*,<sup>2</sup> I think convincingly, proved that Wechssler's bold theories on the growth and development of the prose-romances are no longer tenable, I need here only explain that the unfortunate term *suite* applied by the late G. Paris, in a special sense, to the unique continuation of Robert de Borron's *Merlin* in the Huth MS has misled Wechssler to direct a series of arguments, not against my hypothetical romance, but against a creation of his own fancy. I did not in 1892, as he imagines, bring the *suite du Merlin* in any connection whatever with the hypothetical *suite de Lancelot*. Not a word in my *Studies* can be found that can furnish an explanation of his incomprehensible statement concerning my attitude to the Huth *Merlin*: "wie er denn überhaupt von dieser Branche ausgeht." Nor do I state anywhere that I understand by *suite de Lancelot*, "eine neue Romanreihe."

Seeing that Wechssler starts from such erroneous premises, and fails to see my point, it is not surprising that he should end by arriving at the conclusion: "Sommer verbindet mit der Bezeichnung *suite (de) Lancelot* keinen völlig klaren Begriff."

If I had meant by *suite de Lancelot* what Wechssler imagined I meant, I should have to admit this statement as perfectly correct. But I never dreamt of raising my hypothetical romance to the rank of a *Cyklus*; I never placed it on a common basis or in co-ordination with the *Map-Cyklus*, nor did I call it younger than this combination, for the very simple reason that I did not even make use of the term.

My *Studies* on Malory's sources were my first humble effort in the field of Arthurian romance, to which I had been quite nat-

<sup>1</sup> Eduard Wechssler, *Über die verschiedenen Redaktionen des Robert von Borron zugeschriebenen Graal-Lancelot-Cyklus*, Halle a. S., 1895.

<sup>2</sup> *Romania*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 369-402, and pp. 543-90.

urally led to pay attention in the course of my studies of Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, and which, on account of the very difficulties they presented, greatly fascinated me. Owing to circumstances beyond my control, on the one hand, and to the vastness of the subject on the other, I was limited to the MSS in the British Museum, and I confined myself to Malory. I did not attempt in 1890-92 to solve any of the many problems met with in studying the cycle, nor did I trouble about the claims of Robert de Borron or Walter Map to the authorship of this or that romance; when I, now and then, touched upon the cycle as a whole, it was by accident, rather than by design.

It is a source of great satisfaction to me to know now, when I have acquired a very different grasp of the subject, that I may still look upon my *Studies* written sixteen years ago, as a creditable performance, one that has not belied the highly favorable criticism it elicited from such eminent scholars as the late Gaston Paris, the late Eugen Koelbing, and Sir John Rhys, and that I have been able successfully to refute two or three critics, who, with a view to gaining fame, had selected very small sections of my work for the exercise of their ingenuity.

Even if Wechssler's theories could be substantiated in every respect, a *suite de Lancelot*, such as I have postulated, is not an impossibility, for these adventures might very well be simultaneously a fragment of such a romance and "Bruchstücke der ungekürzten Redaktion A," but it must be clearly understood that I do not claim this romance to be "ein Originalwerk!"

If there existed any foundation in fact for Wechssler's differentiation between the *Map-* and *Robert-Cyklus*, a romance such as I conjectured as being a compilation (much like the enlarged second part of the *Tristan*), a welding together of adventures of Sir Lancelot principally derived from the *Vulgate Lancelot*, with a probable addition of such features from other sources that seemed best calculated to enhance the glory of the title hero, to make it more exclusively what the *Lancelot* is not, viz., a *roman de Lancelot*, portions of it might have been derived, indiscriminately, from the *Map-* and the *Robert-Cyklus*, indeed, if there were the slightest cause to render such an assumption necessary, several

"selbständige Originalwerke" might have been incorporated in it.

Now, after having seen most of the existing MSS of the Arthurian romances accessible in public and private libraries in England and on the Continent, I am much inclined to assume, to Malory's credit,<sup>1</sup> that his share in the patching together of the various scraps from the different versions was really smaller than I had thought sixteen years ago. To judge from the curious compilations represented by some MSS of the fifteenth century that have passed through my hands, I consider it very probable that there existed in Malory's days not one but several such French books which in their main features strongly resembled his own compilation, and it would be quite reasonable to suppose that one or two of them were the "Frensshe bokes" which his author according to William Caxton "reduced into Englysshe."

But while these adventures probably formed part of a lost romance, and while they could very well have been *Bruchstücke der ungekürzten Redaktion A*, had such a romance ever existed, they certainly were connected with the *suite du Merlin*, a fact Wechssler had already correctly recognized in 1895, and of which he erroneously assumed that I, too, was then cognizant. I only realized the connection between these adventures and the *Huth Merlin*, after I had proved this to belong to the trilogy, and after I had established the fact that portions of the *Tristan* were derived from the trilogy.

In my articles in *Romania*,<sup>2</sup> referred to before, I have shown that there existed a French trilogy written about 1228, which was afterward translated into Spanish and Portuguese, and utilized by Italian writers. The first part of this trilogy was made up of the *Estoire del Saint Graal* and Robert de Borron's *Merlin*; the second consisted of the *suite du Merlin*, as found in the Huth MS, foll. 75a-230b + foll. 22a-57d of MS fr. 112, Bibl. Nat., plus some portion unknown, while a quest of the grail and a *Mort Arthur* formed the third.

<sup>1</sup> But this admission of mine does not in any way alter my estimation of him as an author.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. XXXVI, pp. 369-402, and pp. 543-90.

A study of the trilogy as a whole will convince anyone that an account of Galahad's conception and birth, Perceval's arrival at Arthur's court, and some information about Boors and his son, Helain le blanc, must have occurred somewhere in it; as I have been able to account for the whole of the contents of the trilogy except a portion of the second part preceding the quest of the grail, at the beginning of the third part, it can only have, appropriately, occurred there, and by placing it there, the unknown portion of the second part is also very nearly complete and lacks very likely not more than one *laisse* giving an account of Pellinor's death through the hand of Gavain, to revenge his father Lot's death.

### III

In 1889-91, while I was studying Malory's sources, E. Løseth<sup>1</sup> was engaged upon his critical analysis of the *Tristan* MSS in Paris. The results of our labors were almost simultaneously published.<sup>2</sup> Løseth's work is a very creditable achievement, but it has one great defect, for which its author is, however, not responsible, and that is its too great conciseness, frequently at the expense of clearness. The fairness of this criticism, Løseth had ten years later, when he examined<sup>3</sup> the *Tristan* MSS in the British Museum an excellent opportunity to verify personally. In connection with the MSS his analysis is a welcome and valuable guide.

There are no less than twenty-four *Tristan* MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale,<sup>4</sup> seventeen of which contain the second part.

<sup>1</sup> E. Løseth, *Le roman en prose de Tristan . . . analyse critique d'après les manuscrits de Paris*, 1891; 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> I had no idea of Løseth's plans till I saw his book.

<sup>3</sup> The analysis fills more than five hundred pages, a great deal of which is set up in very small type; and yet Løseth, as he himself declares, when examining the London MSS, found his notes too brief.

<sup>4</sup> For other existing *Tristan* MSS see Løseth, *Préface*, p. iv, and *Additions et corrections*, p. 477. On the occasion of a brief visit to Vienna I have looked through the three splendid *Tristan* MSS at the "K. k. Hofbibliothek." My time was too short to analyze these bulky volumes minutely, but my knowledge of the Paris and London MSS enables me to declare that they do not contain anything not found in one or other of those MSS. As I was especially interested in the Grail-quest, I have carefully examined this portion of the MSS, in which they show substantial agreement. Referring for the sake of briefness to the three MSS: No. 2542 by X, No. 2537 by Y, and No. 2539-40 by Z, I found: The second part of the *Tristan* begins in X, on fol. 192a; in Y, on fol. 206c; in Z, on fol. 219a. Sir Tristan is made a companion of the Round Table in X, on fol. 222a; in Y, on fol. 233a; in Z, Vol. II, fol. 247c. Tristan's death through stabbing from behind is recorded in X, on fol. 487a; in Y, on fol.



Løseth has arranged these in the following six groups: I: 757, 1434, 104; II: 12599, 755, 760; III: 103; IV: 336; V: 772, 97, 349, 101, (776); VI: 99, 94, 758, 22440. Groups I and II represent the better ("la première et la meilleure") version; the other groups the common ("la version cyclique au commune") version. When Løseth wrote, this division was satisfactory enough. After my studies of the trilogy and the origin of the *G.-L. Quest*, it will be possible to improve upon it considerably. The terms "better" and "common" were, even in 1890, not happily chosen. Ward's second part and enlarged second part appear to me preferable. This Løseth has, evidently, recognized himself, for he finds it necessary to add in a note that, as the whole romance might possibly have been "cyclique" he will apply this term to the MSS of the first part "qui renvoient à la Mort Artu," and to those of the second part, "qui intercalent la quête du saint graal dans son entier." While the first two groups are of greater interest for the *Tristan* itself, the other groups are of greater importance for the study of the Arthurian romances as a whole.

As far as Malory is concerned, one single MS belonging to Group IV, viz., No. 99, is of especial interest; speaking of this Løseth declares: "Malory représente essentiellement le même texte que 99."<sup>1</sup> As this MS is representative of the common version, Malory has again, whether by choice or by accident—as in the case of the *suite du Merlin*—incorporated the version in his compilation, which is of greater interest to the critic.

For my critical examination of the *Tristan* section in *Studies*, the results of which I was compelled by want of space to indicate but briefly (pp. 279-90), I had only the MSS in the British Museum and the printed editions at my disposal. Not only has Løseth confirmed the result of my labors, but without any inten-

476a; in Z, Vol. II. fol. 225d. The Grail-quest occupies in X, on foll. 353e-500f; in Y, foll. 331c-442a; in Z, Vol. II. foll. 76b-343d. According to Løseth's arrangement, X belongs to group V; Y and Z, to group I or II. Other details, that I noticed, I must reserve for another occasion.

<sup>1</sup> The adventures relating the conception and birth of Galahad, the arrival of Perceval at Arthur's court, etc., are also told in MSS 101, 97, 349, and 758, in Paris, and No. 2542, foll. 335e-53e in Vienna.

tion of doing so he has adduced the proof that the theory which I advanced as to the probable shape of the MS Malory used, is correct in every detail.

In explanation of these facts [I state in *Studies*, pp. 288, 289] I submit the following theory which strikes me as highly plausible: Malory possessed a MS which contained: (1) The contents of Part I of the *Vulgate Tristan*, as reproduced by him in Books VIII and IX; (2) The contents of Part II of the *Vulgate* up to the point where, as I have shown (p. 283), the quest of the Holy Grail is mentioned—identical with Part I of the enlarged *Tristan*, up to the point where the quest begins (p. 285), save, of course, those variants of style and slight and insignificant modifications noticeable between all the existing MSS of the *Tristan*—but this section was already enlarged by (a) the *intercalation* (at the point determined by Malory, Book X, chap. xxxi) of the adventures of "Alysander le orphelyn" and the great tournament of Galahalt of Surluse as found attached to the *Prophecies of Merlin* said to be translated from the Latin by Richard of Ireland,<sup>1</sup> (b) to which were added the incidents relative to Lancelot derived from a *suite de Lancelot*, etc.

All this applies to the MS No. 99, as a comparison to my statement with Løseth, §§ 20, 192, 337, and 388a, etc., will show. Malory's MS, therefore, must have been copied from a MS like the one from which No. 99 was copied; at any rate both must have been derived from the same archetype.

Having seen the British Museum MSS in September, 1901, Løseth published<sup>2</sup> a brief account of them in 1905. His examination of these MSS, however, appears to have been of a very cursory character, and several points seem to have escaped him altogether. He did not notice the repetition of the meeting of Tristan with Palamades, derived from two different versions, and he overlooked the fact that in one of these MSS (Royal 20. D. ii) Pellinor is the maimed king in the quest, not Pelles. As I have, for a different purpose, studied the three MSS of the enlarged second part of the *Tristan*, viz.: Add. 5474 (A); Royal 20. D. ii (R), and Egerton 989 (E), I am able to supplement Løseth's account in several respects. Whilst admitting that these MSS do not favorably compare with the many in Paris, I claim that it

<sup>1</sup> These adventures I printed from MSS Add. 25434 and Harl. 1629 as an appendix to *Studies*.

<sup>2</sup> E. Løseth, *Le Tristan et le Palamède des Manuscrits Français du British Museum*, Christiania, 1905, 38 pp.

is possible to make up from them a very satisfactory text of the second part of the *Tristan*, representing the same version as Groups IV and V.

The account of these MSS in H. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances*, Vol. I, pp. 359-62, is correct as far as E is concerned; slightly to be modified as to R, and to be corrected and completed with regard to A.<sup>1</sup> Besides the one leaf stated to be lacking at the end of A, I found twenty-three more missing, viz., one leaf<sup>2</sup> after each of foll. 11, 13, 82, 108 (cf. R, foll. 15, 19v, 20r, 111, 139); ten leaves between foll. 205d and 206a (cf. E, foll. 72-130); and lastly, nine leaves<sup>3</sup> between foll. 266d and 267a (cf. R, foll. 265-74). Smaller or larger portions are torn out or off: foll. 19, 43, 79, 139, 178, 182, 217, 263, 267. Portions of foll. 2r, 10r and v, 15r, 114v, 144v, are much worn and partly effaced.

And, as I further found, that besides the slight imperfections at the beginning and end recorded by H. Ward, there are about twenty-four leaves missing in R, between foll. 191d and 192a, i. e., the beginning of Sir Tristan's adventures in the quest of the grail, corresponding to the contents of foll. 1-120 in E, the gap in A, after fol. 205d, can only be made good from E. A, fol. 205d, corresponds to E, fol. 72, and A, fol. 206a, to E, fol. 130.

This deficiency in R, it must be admitted, could only be found by reading the MS. These leaves must have already been absent from the MS copied by the scribe of A, for the catchword on fol. 191d corresponds to the first line of fol. 192a.

If A and R were quite complete, the absence of the contents of A, foll. 144a-62b, from R (which in A are added from another version) would constitute the only material difference between the two MSS. A is written in the north of France, R most probably in the Netherlands.

<sup>1</sup> H. Ward's two references to the edition of 1520 are not accurate. For "Vol. II, p. ix, col. 2," read, "Vol. II, fol. 9 verso, col. 2;" for "Vol. II, p. x," read "Vol. II, fol. 10 recto, col. 1."

<sup>2</sup> One leaf in A contains as much as 1.1 of R, or 5.6 of E. One leaf in R is about equal to 0.9 of A, or 5.0 of E.

<sup>3</sup> After A, fol. 266d, last line: "mier cheualier le roi ban qui moururent," which corresponds to R, fol. 265b, line 1. (The missing portion of the sentence is: "en la queste del saint graal mes or leste li contes a parler dels & retornea parler del bon cheualier galaaz.") There are about ten leaves lacking in A; their contents are represented by R, foll. 265b, l. 2 to 274c, l. 37.

A, foll. 1-142, and R, foll. 1-174, relate all that is told in the second part of the *Vulgate Tristan*, save as to the contents of the last few leaves giving the different account of Sir Tristan's death, etc., such as is to be found in the printed editions, and in one MS, viz., No. 102, at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

On A, fol. 142a (R, fol. 174a), occurs a passage beginning:

Or dist li contes quant chil de loenois se furent aperceu que tristran demouroit en la ioieuse garde a tel ioie & a tel deduit . . . vint vns preudons hermites & des aintisme loy & relegieus durement pour qui diex faisoit maintes vertues apertement (&) fist assauoir au roi artu que a pente-couste qui deuoit estre uenroit li sains uaisssfaus en sa maison celi meesme con apiele greal, etc.

A, foll. 142-44, and R, foll. 174-76, give the account of the meeting between Tristran and Palamedes, when the former is proceeding unarmed to Arthur's court. While in R, after this, the quest begins as in the majority of the MSS, there occurs in A the interpolation of the adventures as published in *Modern Philology*, Vol. V, pp. 55-84, 181-200 and 322-41, and a second account of the meeting between Tristran and Palamedes on foll. 162-64, which has been marked on pp. 337-41 by different type.

R, as it stands, and A, without foll. 144-64, would be representative of Groups III and IV.

The twofold occurrence of the meeting between Tristran and Palamedes is easily explained. The first is the one occurring in most of the MSS; the second is taken with the interpolated adventures from another version which is found only in the few MSS named *supra*, p. 314, n. 1. The scribe of A, probably already the one whose MS he copied, incorporated the contents of foll. 144-62 from another MS, and in so doing, as he did his work mechanically like most of these scribes, without paying much attention to what he wrote, he did not notice that his own MS already contained on foll. 142-44 an account of this meeting.

The quest of the grail joined to the *Tristan* (*G.-T. Quest*, i. e., *Galahad-Tristan Quest*) I shall now briefly compare with the *Vulgate* (*G.-L. Quest*), taking as a basis F. J. Furnivall's text, in which it occupies 247 printed pages.

*G.-T. Quest* is in the main, as I stated in *Romania*, a combina-

tion of *G.-L. Quest* and *G.-D. Quest*. Five-sixths of it are hardly more than a transcript of these two versions. The last sixth consists of incidents derived from earlier *Tristan* material not improbably in verse, and adventures adapted from the *Lancelot*, *G.-D. Quest*, and other versions, or invented for the occasion to join the narrative. These incidents will have to be subjected to a closer critical examination than I have been able to devote to them. There is a very great probability that the enlargement of the second part of the *Tristan* was carried out, if not by the same man as in the case of the trilogy, by one who worked in partnership with him.

Of the 247 pages<sup>1</sup> *G.-L. Quest* occupies in the printed text, only between nineteen and twenty pages are not found in any shape in *G.-T. Quest*, viz., the contents of pp. 131-44 and pp. 176-80, the former representing the whole of chapter vii, the latter part of chapter ix. Both of these passages deal exclusively with adventures of Sir Gavain, who, although not painted quite so black in *G.-T. Quest* as in *G.-D. Quest*, is nevertheless described, as a man and a knight, far from perfect, thus strongly contrasting with the personality of Arthur's nephew known to us in earlier versions.

Many of the adventures, especially in the second part of *G.-L. Quest*, which are in *G.-D. Quest* recorded very similarly, but not exactly in the same manner, are in *G.-T. Quest* more in agreement with the latter version.

Such incidents are (to name but a few): the meeting of Gala-had, Perceval, and Boors with the damsel on Salomon's ship. While in *G.-L. Quest* she introduces herself immediately after they enter the boat as Perceval's sister and the daughter of Pellean, in *G.-T. Quest*, as in *G.-D. Quest*, her identity is only disclosed when the question arises as to how the king's daughter

<sup>1</sup> Chap. i, pp. 1-22, corresponds to A, foll. 165a-72a; chap. ii, pp. 23-45, to A, foll. 172a-75a; chap. iii, pp. 36-45, to A, foll. 175b-77b; chap. iv, pp. 46-61, to A, foll. 177b-78 + foll. 232c-235b; chap. v, pp. 63-102, to A, foll. 235c-43d; chap. vi, pp. 106-29, to A, foll. 244a-50b; chap. vii, pp. 131-44 is omitted; chap. viii, pp. 145-76, to A, foll. 251a-57b; chap. ix, pp. 176-80, is omitted; pp. 180-98 (missing in A) to R, foll. 265b-69d; chap. x, pp. 198-218 (partly missing in A) to R, foll. 270b-76c; chap. xi, pp. 219-23, to A, foll. 282b-93c; chap. xii, pp. 233-43 (not in A) to R, foll. 311b-13c; pp. 243-47, to A, foll. 305a, b, c, d, line 18; R, foll. 313c, line 26, to foll. 314c, line 4.

is to be found who is to supply the hangings of the sword. But apparently, with a view to avoid contradiction, the information found in *G.-D. Quest*, that she is Pellinor's daughter, is suppressed altogether in *G.-T. Quest*. The inclusion of the Cayphas episode in *G.-T. Quest* as found in *G.-D. Quest* is another example, and so is the account of Lancelot's visit to Corbenic.

Entirely different from both versions is the account in *G.-T. Quest* of the arrival of the grail-questers in Corbenic, as well as the principal act of the whole quest, the beholding of the holy vessel and the lance and the healing of the maimed king who is many times not named at all, but is mostly called Pelles.

It would greatly transcend the limits of this present article if I were to enter into further details. When the trilogy-quest as represented by the Portuguese MS No. 2295 is accessible in a printed edition, a comparison of the three versions of the quest will form an interesting and fruitful subject for a dissertation. Moreover, a comparison of Løseth's brief account, §§ 504-10, 516-32, and 563-65, etc., with *G.-L. Quest* will present a fair idea of the relationship in which *G.-T. Quest* stands to it.

But, while about twenty pages of *G.-L. Quest* are not in *G.-T. Quest*, there are about sixty-two leaves of four columns each in A absent from *G.-L. Quest*.

In A *G.-T. Quest* fills 161 leaves, viz., foll. 164-306, to which have to be added the 19 leaves missing after foll. 205*d* and 266*d*. Out of the 161 leaves, 62 represent matter not found in *G.-L. Quest*. Therefore 247 minus 20 printed pages are equal to 161 minus 62 written leaves, which would in type fill 139 pages. In other words, if *G.-T. Quest* were printed in the same style as the edition of Roxburghe Club, it would fill 220 plus 139, or about 359 pages.

From A, fol. 178*a*, to the end we have in E (Egerton, 989) a third MS of the same text as A and R.

The quest begins in A, fol. 164*b*, line 24, thus:

Chi endroit dist li contes que si grans honours & si grans glorie  
uint adont en la chite de camaalot que nus ne fust a cele feste pour tant  
quil uest les cheualiers les dames & les damoiseles & les puceles qui a  
cele feste estoient uenues quil nel tenist a grant merueille, etc.

The incident with which *G.-L. Quest* begins is told on fol. 165a, lines 36 ff.

Sir Tristran's adventures in the quest begin on fol. 178a, and this corresponds to E, fol. 1, running thus:

Or dit le compte et la vraye Hystoire du saint greal le devise que  
quant messire tristan de lionnoys se fu party de ses compaignons de la  
table Ronde qui la queste du saint greal auoient juree, etc.

In six places *G.-T. Quest* has insertions in verse; they are always in sections not found in *G.-L. Quest*. In A, fol. 166c: "A toi rois artus qui seigneur;" fol. 167d: "Riens nest qui ne viegne a sa fin;" fol. 179b: "Amors de nostre acordement;" fol. 192b: "A vous tristran amis vrai;" fol. 214b: "Après che que iou eu victoire;"<sup>1</sup> fol. 214d: "La ou iou fui dedens la mer;" and 287c: "Damours vient mi chant & mi plour."

The death of Sir Tristran by stabbing from behind is told in A, foll. 290-92; R, foll. 299, 300; E, foll. 422, 423. After this nine sections or *laisses* follow in the MSS, being almost exclusively borrowed from *G.-D. Quest*, as it is found partly in MSS fr. Nos. 112 and 351, more completely in the Spanish *Demanda*, and entirely in the Portuguese *Demanda*. These are as follows:

1. Lament of King Mark, burial of Tristran and Iseult at Tintagel; Sagremor's departure with Tristran's arms toward Cameloth: A, 292d; R, 301b; E, 423 *recto*.

2. Adventures of Galahad and Lancelot: A, 293b; R, 302a; E, 425 *recto*.

<sup>1</sup> As an example of style I give this passage in full:

Après che que iou eu victoire  
fis si grant ualour en estoire  
amors si me met en tel gloire  
Mon lay fais & meten memoire.

Damours meuf mes lays mes uers  
se amours ma este diuers  
& en este & en yuer  
or ne ma pas este paruers.

Que iou ai longement geu  
en dolour & trauail eu  
pour chou si uoel que soit seu  
comment amours mont esmeu.

Se iou disoie la bonte  
damours iou seroie a honte  
pour chou uoel iou que soit conte  
eu quel pris amours mont monte.

Amours ma tenu longement  
en doeul en ire & en tourment  
Mais ore ai iou souagement  
amende ma fait largement.

Quant entre la flour des mortex  
Me mist amors que iou fui tex  
Mieudres ne fu ne autretex  
pour cou di iou camors est diex.

Quant a louuereps oi le pris  
que tous li mons auoit eu pris  
que iou i fui au meillour pris  
& il i furent tout mespris.

Bien doi damors estre auoes  
por tant sui par amors loes  
ha? uous chi qui mon dit oes  
amours de tout en tout ames.

Quant amours se ueut entremetre  
qui ma fait ensi grant pris metro  
que encor sera mis en lettre  
del tout me doi a lui sousmettre.



3. Adventures of Galahad, Boors, and Perceval before the castle of La Marche and the knighting of Samaliel: A, 294c, R, 303c; E, 426 *verso*.

4. Adventures of Samaliel and Kay the seneschal: A, 297b; R, 306c; E, 434 *verso*.

5. Adventures of Lancelot in a boat and his arrival at the Palace of the Grail: A, 299a; R, 308a; E, 438 *recto*.

6. Palamedes christened and made knight of the Round Table, followed by the adventures of Galahad, Boors, and Perceval, with an account of the Grail (this latter, A, 301d, line 12, to 303a, line 13, neither in R nor in E): A, 301b; R, 310d; E, 444 *recto*.

7. Encounter of Palamedes and Lancelot and slaying of Palamedes by Gavain and Agravain: A, 303a; not in R; E, 453 *verso*.

8. Arrival of Galahad, Boors, and Perceval at Sarraas and death of Galahad and Perceval: A, 305a; R, 313c; E, 459 *recto*.

The contents of R, 314c, ll. 5-31, are not in A and E, and are here given:

**Q**ant boort uit quil estoit tout seul remeis en si lontaigne terre comme epairie de babiloine il se parti de saraz touz armes & uint a la mer & entra en vne nef & li auint si bien que en poi de tens uint el roiaume de logres quant il fu el pais si cheuaucha tant quil uint a kamaalot ou li rois artus estoit si ne fu onques fet si grant ioie comme tuit cil de la cort li firent *que* bien le cuidoiert auoir perdu a toz ior mes por ce que si longement auoit este hors del pais quant il orent mangie li rois fist uenir auant li clers qui les auentures as *cheualiers* de laienz metoiert en escrit quant boort ot conte lauenture del saint graal teles comme ele estoient auenues ele furent mises en escrit (&) gardees en lamore de salibieres dont mestre galtier map les trest a fere son liure du saint graal por lamor du roi herri son sengnor qui fist lastoire tralater del latin en romanz si se test atant li contes a parler del roi artus *que* plus ne dist a ceste foiz & retourne a parle(r) de sagremorz comment il uint a cort & aporta les armes tristrans.

9. News of the death of Palamedes told to Sagremor and comment on his own news relative to the death of Tristran: A, fol. 305d; R, fol. 314c; E, fol. 462 *recto*.

On foll. 464 *verso* and 465 *recto* occurs in E the paragraph found in many *Lancelot* MSS, preceding the *Morte Artus*:

**Q**uant messire boord fut Reuenu a court assez trouua qui honnour lui firent. car moult le desiroient a veoir tous et toutes. Et quant il leur

ot compte la mort de galaad et de parceual chacuns en fist duel moult grant mais Reconforter leur en conuient . Et lors fist le Roy mettre en escript toutes les auantures et merueilles que les compaignons de la table Ronde auoient fetes en la queste del saint greal, etc.

This is absent from both A and R. Immediately after this passage occurs in E an epilogue beginning:

Assez me suis trauaille de cestuy liure mettre a fin, etc.<sup>1</sup>

At the end, E has this colophon:

Cy fine listoire de messire tristan de leonnoys et de la royne ysut de cornouille et des fays de mains autres bons cheualiers du temps le roy arthus. Laquelle ystoire fut acheuee descreire le XXI<sup>er</sup> jour doctobre le propre iour des XI<sup>m</sup> vierges lan M iiii<sup>c</sup> LXXV.

Considering that other MSS of the enlarged second part of the *Tristan*, or common version—belonging to the same group—contain a very similar epilogue, I incline to the belief that A and R also contained it; so that both MSS would in reality lack another leaf each at the end.

FROM THE "TRISTAN" MS ADD. 5474, FF. 142<sup>c</sup>-164<sup>b</sup> BRITISH MUSEUM

(SIR THOMAS MALLORY'S *Le Morte Darthur*, Books XI and XII)

### Part III (Conclusion)

Lors se departent de lor compaignes si sagement que nule ne sen apercoit. & uont tant que eles viennent la ou lancelet estoit & dormoit si lesgarderent grant pieche & dient que uous en samble & eles dient que mout est biaux si sasieent les lui & le commencent a esgarder entre les  
 5 .ii. asses longement. & la fille au roi pelles qui lesgardeoit mout ententieuement & imetoit si son auis que ele counoist que cest lancelet. si est tant dolante que nule plus & tant lie que nule plus. si est lie de che que ele la trouue & dolante de cou que il est hors du sens. car bien counoist que cot est chil qui tant auoit repairiet a la maison son pere en guise  
 10 dome foursene mais ele ne le uaut mie dire a sa compaignie que ce soit lancelet. ains le coile bien. si sen parti atant & uint a ses compaignes qui laloient querant parmi le iarding. lors lor dist que ele se sentoit un poi deshaitie & quele sen uoloit aler & celes font tantost son commandement. & quant la damoisele vint el palais si demanda ou ses peres estoit  
 15 & on li enseigne & ele vient alui & le trait a vne part . & li dist. sire nouueles uos aport merueilleuses. queles fait li rois dites les moi sire fait ele me sire lancelet du lac est chaiens . & si ne le sauons mie.

**H**a<sup>7</sup> biele fille fait li rois que cest che que vous dites lancelet est mors piecha. si con iou ai oi dire as compaignons de la table reonde qui le dient pour uoir. enondieu fait ele non est car ie lai maintenant ueu tout sain de ses membres & uenes od moi ie le vous mousterrai. ore ialons dont fait li rois. lors sen entrent andoi el iarding saus plus de compaignie & font tant quil vient a la fontaine ou lancelet dormoit. & quant li rois est la venus si counoist que cest chil qui tant a repairiet a la cour en guise dome foursene. sire fait ele que uous en samble nest ce me sire lancelet. & il ne respont mie a chou ains lesgarde plus & plus. lors ne se pot plus taire ains souspire de cuer parfent si li chient les larmes des iex aual sa fache. & quant il parla si dist. diex quel damage lors dist a sa fille uoirement est chou chil qui vous disies [*fol. 158, col. b*] damoisele ore en alons nous de chi & iou imetrai tout le boin conseil que iou iporrai metre

**L**ors retorne li rois en son palais & desfent a sa fille quele ne die anului que che soit lancelet. & ele dist que non fera ele. & li rois prist .ii. escuiers & les maine iusqua la fontaine & lor mostre le fol & lor dist quil le prengent & li lient les pies & les mains puis enfera son plaisir & chil ont grant paor quil nel fache ochirre. & nepourquant pour che quil nosent son commandement desdire le prenent tout endormant. & cil quant il se fu esueillies se uaut escaper deuls. mais che ne pooit estre. car il estoient preu & fort si le prenent a force & lenportent a forche tout liie en vne chambre sous la tour. au soir quant il furent laiens couchie le fist li rois porter el palais auentureus & li laisserent tout seul sans compaignie dautre gent. & bien pensoient que si tost comme il iseroit & il uerroit uenir le saint graal el palais il seroit garis & reuenroit en sa memore si auint tant ensi comme il le penserent. car quant li sains graaus vint illeuc si comme il soloit il reuint en son sens & en sa memore.

**A**l matin quant li iours aparut clers par les fenestres verrines dont il i auoit asses & lancelet se uit el palais ou il auoit autre fois ieu si sesmerueilla mout comment il i estoit uenus & plus sesmerueilla de cou quil se uit ensi liie comme il estoit & lors commença a derompre les loiens dont chil lauioient liiet. & quant il se vit deliure il vint as fenestres de laiens par deuers le iarding. la ou il ochist le serpent. si commença a esgarder el iarding. & uit le roi & sa maisnie qui ia estoient leue & parloient daler el palais pour sauoir comment il estoit auenu a lancelet. car mout fuissent liet de sa garison se diex li uoloit aidier. lors dist a ses barons. ales ueoir comment il est auenu al sot car moult seroie lies de sa garison se diex li uoloit enuoier. & il lor ont fait entendre que chil qui laiens auoit este malades estoit li mieudres cheualiers du monde. & sil plaist anostre seignour que il soit garis iou le uous ferai counoistre.

**L**ors virrent al huis del palais si loeurent & entrent ens & troeuent lancelet qui estoit apoies a vne des fenestres & esgarloit encore le

iarding. & quant il vit uenir le roi que il counissoit bien si descent des fenestres & uint encontre lui si salua le roi & li rois lui. sire fait li rois comment vous est [fol. 158, col. c, verso] il . sire fait il bien dieu merchi car iou sui sains & haities dieu merchi.

- 5 **L**ors trait lancelet le roi dune part & li dist sire pour dieu dites moi comment iou ving chi car iou ne sai quant ne en quel maniere. sire fait li rois iou le uous dirai. mais iai paour que uous nen soies plus couars. lors li commenche a dire comment il estoit uenus a corbenie si derues & si hors du sens que nus ne pooit durer deuant uous & si  
10 maigres & si nus que nus ne uous pooit counoistre & ensi i aues vous grant piece demoure. ne iamais ne uous eussions connu se ne fust ma fille qui uous trouua dormant deles vne fontaine. si le me uint dire. & quant iou oi ces nouuelles ien fui mout lies si alai maintenant a uous si uous fis prendre a nos escuiers & metre en cest palais ou iou pensoie bien que  
15 vous i trouueries sante si tost con li sains graaus uenroit sour uous. & il est ensi auenu dieu merchi con iou le pensoie. car uous estes garis or uous ai dit de uostre estre che que ie en sai si uous pri que vous nen soies courecies car dieu merchi bien uous est hui auenu selonc les auentures qui uous estoient auenues. si uous reconfortes desore mais & uous deduis  
20 sies chaiens od nous & iou vous creant comme rois que iamais ne vous faurai de cose que iou puisse faire . ains vous abandonerai ma tere & mon auoir & la seignourie de mes homes si que uous porres faire uo uolente de mon roiaume ausi con iou meesmes.

- Q**uant il ot che dit lancelet commenche a penser moult parfont &  
25 encline le chief uers tere & ne set que faire de ceste auenture. & quant il a grant piece pense si dist au roi. certes sire ceste auenture a este trop uilaine & maluaise amon oeus. mais toutes uois mest il bien auenu selonc le commencement. or uous pri iou pour dieu que uous me dites se nus de uostre maisnie ma conneu en ceste mescheance. ou iai  
30 este. certes fait li rois onques ne uous counut nus fors iou & ma fille seulement. sire fait il ce me plaist bien grans honors mest auenue quant il ne mont conneu ensi maluais estat con iou estoie. comment quil maient descouneu en la grant pouerte ou iou estoie iou sai bien que des ore mais me [fol. 158, col. d, verso] counistront il bien se iou demouroie od vous &  
35 pour che uous pri iou pour dieu & par amors que vous me conseilliches selonc che que iou vous demanderai. voirs est que iou me sui tant mesfais ou roiaume de logres ou iou ai eu toutes les ioies & toutes les honors que poures cheualiers porroit auoir. or ni puis remanoir car li entrers mi est desfundus car iou ni puis iamais metre le piet sans congiet & pour ceste  
40 desfense sui iou tant dolant que iou menparti si sai bien que del courouc que ioi sui iou teus atournes comme uous aues ueu. car quant ioi perdu le roiaume de logres par qui iou men parti. mais puis quil est ensi que iou tout mon uiuant uoel remanoir en cest pais iou uoel estre en .i. lieu si

loing de gent que nus ne mi sache fors que uous & uostre fille. ou iert che dont fait li rois. ciert fait il en vne ille de mer ou uos me uerres ueoir. mais ains que iou i aille uos pri iou que nus ne sache la uerite de moi que chil du roiaume de logres me tienent a perdu. & che porres uous faire legierement. car puis que ie serai en cest pais & que nus nel saura fors que vous & uostre fille ia neniara nul a qui iou me face counoistre. ensi me porrai bien celer en cest pais.

**C**ertes fait li rois se uous o nous uolies remanoir si bien uous celerions que ia de vous ne seroit nouuiele. mais se uous o nous ne uoles remanoir mais eschieuer toute la compaignie de gent iou en prendrai tel conseil que bien uous deueroit souffire au mien ensiant. sire fait lancelet caiens ne remanroie iou en nule maniere. car iou sai bien que mi ami & li compaignon de la table reonde me querroient chi & aillours. si sai bien que iou ni serai mie longement. sire fait li rois puis que uous ne uoles remanoir od nous nos en penserons au miex que nous porrons si nous aseurons que nous le ferons ensi con uous deuiseres se nous poons.

**A** cest mot failli li consaus deus<sup>1</sup> si se lieuent de la ou il sestoient assis. & li rois fist signe a chiaus qui od lui estoient uenu que il se traissent arriere & il si fisent. lors prinst lancelet par la main & le conduist hors de laiens si lenmaine en vne chambre qui estoit iouste le palais & laisse lautre compaignie pour lui faire compaignie. celui qui le iour deuant auoit este nouiax [fol. 159, col. a] cheualier & qui li ot la robe dounee si commencha a regarder lancelet pour che que li rois li auoit moult loe si pense que en aucune maniere sara il qui il est & comment il a anon. sire fait il me direz uous vne cose que iou vous demandera! & sachies que iou nel demanderai pour nul mal. mais ien serai plus aaise tous les iours de ma vie se iou sauoie qui uous estes & uous pri<sup>2</sup> foi que vous deues adieu que uous le me dites & que uous deues a la riens que uous plus ames.

**Q**uant lancelet ot que li cheualiers le coniure de la riens dont il est plus amalaie si en est trop dolans & respont au cheualier. certes sire cheualiers vous nestes mie courtois ne bien enseignies que saues uous ore sil me poise de che que uous maues dit & ie le uous dirai par tel eur que iamaiz ne vous amerai ains uous nuirai en tous les lieux ou iou porrai fors chaiens. sachies que iou sui li cheualiers mesfais & ai anon lancelet du lac. que uous mar veistes se ien vien en lieu pour ceste requeste que vous maues faite. or vous ai dit che que iou ne desisse a nul home se mout grant forche nel me fesist faire. lors li commencent li oeil a larmoier si deuint trop courechies.

**Q**uant li cheualiers uit lancelet tant courechiet de che quil li ot demande si saienoilla deuant lui & li cria merchi a iointes mains & li dist tout maintenant ha sire pour dieu ne uous poist de che que iou

<sup>1</sup> Repeated in MS.

<sup>2</sup> "par la" omitted.

vous ai demande. se diex mait iou pensoie bien que uous esties lancelet si ne uous caut se iou en sai la uerite. car bien sachiez que ia par moi ne sera descouuert che vous creant iou con loiaus cheualiers. & iou le uous pardoins fait lancelet puis que vous cest serment me creantes a tenir. ensi  
 5 parole lancelet au cheualier & quant li rois entra el palais il encontra sa fille. si li dist bele fille lancelet est garis & reuenus en son sens. & il puis li conte comment lancelet le requist que il le mete en .i. lieu loing de gent. car il ne ueut mie estre conneus de ceus de la table reonde. & por che ueut il demourer od uous car il set bien que si compaignon sont entre  
 10 en queste pour lui querre. ha<sup>7</sup> sire fait la damoisele de ceste cose que uous me dites uous sarai iou bien conseillier. chi pres a .ii. lieues a vn lieu mout biel en vne ille a vn castiel que on apiele le castiel bliant & si est li plus deliteus del monde. & se me sire lancelet iestoit il i porroit estre tos les iours du monde ains que on li seust. car il est si loing de  
 15 gent que nus ni va se par auenture [*fol. 159, col. b*] non parfoi fait li rois or me souuient de tel lieu il est trop biaux a lancelet

**L**ors vint li rois a lancelet & li dist. sire por querre lieu loing de gent ne uous conuient il ia remuer. iou ai chi pres vne ille moie ou uous porres bien estre tant que uous seres el roiaume de logres & en cel lieu  
 20 lo iou que uous soies & iou uous iferai souent compaignie & ares tant de bien con uous porres trouuer el roiaume de logres & en cel lieu lo iou que uous soies. sire fait lancelet & iou irai se uous uoles quant il sera anuitie sans nule compaignie fors de uous seulement car iou ne uoeil mie que nus mi sache. ains demourres fait li rois iusca demain au point du  
 25 iour & iou arai fait le lieu aaisier entre chi & dont de toutes les choses dont il iert mestiers. & lancelet li otroie le remanoir iuscha dont. ensi demoura lancelet laiens si celeement que nus ne le sot. & li cheualier qui od le roi auoient este al matin li demandoient souuent qui li cheualiers auoit este. qui auoit este hors du sens. iou ne uous dirai mie son non fait  
 30 li rois. car uous le sares asses a tans. mais tant sachiez quil est li mieudres cheualiers del monde. & sachiez vraiment quil men est mout grans honors auenue car il est garis en mon ostel. & quant chil oent quil nen apprendront plus il laissent la parole atant. cel iour fist li rois garnir le castiel de toutes les choses qui a cuer dome sont boines. & auoec che i  
 35 fist metre tous les oisiaus & toutes les enuoiseures par coi cuers dome peust estre soustenus & longement maintenus.

**A**lendemain quant il fu aiourne se parti lancelet de corbenic. & li rois mena auoec lui iusca .x. cheualiers qui desore mais seront od lui tant quil sera en cel pais. & quant il furent la uenu il entrerent en  
 40 vne nef si les passa outre uns marouniers. & quant lancelet fu uenus au castiel si le uit si bel & si delitaule de toutes choses que il dist que il ne sen queroit iamaiz partir. quant il uit la fille au roi qui illeuc estoit uenue il le traist a vne part & li dist damoisele il est uoirs que uous le

saues bien que uous maues tolus [*fol. 159, col. c, verso*] tous les biens & toutes les ioies que iou soloie auoir el roiaume de logres & bien saues par qui iou auoie eues tantes honours. faites moi vne bonte dont uous ne seres ia blasmee. sire fait ele par moi sans faille estes uous partis du roiaume de logres & par moi aues vous perdues les ioies & les iolietes de la table reonde pour coi ie ferai pour uous tant que ie vous uerrai en cest pais quanque uous me requerres ou soit ma mort ou soit ma vie. or dites fait ele quanquil vos plaira. car ie le ferai outreement. iou uous requier fait il que uous en ceste ille soies od moi & mi fachies compaignie tant que iou i demorrai & quant iou men irai se iou menuois si uous en porres aler se il uous plaist. certes sire fait ele si ferai ie mout uolentiers

**L** se il vous plaist. & mes peres le uieult.  
Lors vint la damoisele au roi son pere & li dist che dontancelot le requerroit. & quant li rois oi ceste requeste il dist a sa fille. damoisele otroies li. car uous ares plus grant honor de sa compaignie que se uous la refusies & cele li otroie & li rois dist pour lui faire compaignie mandera il par sen roiaume .xx. des plus bieles damoiseles que on porra trouuer & qui iamais ne sen partiront tant que sa fille i demeure. si le fist li rois dedens .viii. iours si comme il auoit deuise. si que ains que li .viii. iour fuissent passe otancelot od lui iusca .x. cheualiers qui li firrent compaignie & la fille au roi ot iusca .xx. damoiseles hautes dames de grant lignage qui le seruoient & li castiaus qui estoit en lille estoit tant riches & tant biaux & si bien garnis de toutes coses quil ni faloit riens. si auint si bien aancelot que nus ne li sauoit fors li rois & li cheualier & encore auoit il le creant daus que en nule maniere ne seroit daus encuses.

**E**nsi remest il laiens & li cheualier & les damoiseles qui le deduisoient & il aloit cascun ior ains quil beust ne mangast au chief de lille par deuers le royaume de logres & regardoit uers le pais ou ses cuers traitoit del tout & quant il auoit grant pieche regarde les grans deduis quil i ot eus & ore en iert del tout eslongies & otes si quil ni quidoit iamais recouurer si recommençoit vn doeul si merueilleus que nus ne le peust souffrir fors il tant seulement & il ne [*fol. 159, col. d, verso*] souffrist mie longement cele paine se che ne fust par amours & chou estoit grans alegemens a son cuer & mout li faisoit grant confort.

**Q**uantancelot ot demoure en lille iusca lentrete dyuer & quant il uit quil ot du tout perdu le hantement de cheualerie il pensa quil feroit tel cose par coi chil du pais le uerroient ueoir ne ia nel counistroient. si dist au roi qui lestoit uenus ueoir sire iou uous pri que uous me fachies faire .i. escu car dautres armes a il chaiens a plente. & li rois li demande la maniere del escu & il li deuise tel comme il le uoloit auoir. quant cil du castiel le uirrent il sen esmerueillierent por che quil nauoient onques mais teil ueu. & sans faille il estoit li plus diuers que on seust adont el monde. car en mi lieu estoit plus noirs que meure & deles la boucle auoit



vne roine dargent & deuant li ot .i. cheualier a ienous issi comme il criast merchi daucun mesfait & chil de laiens qui uirrent lescu ne sauoient quele senefianche cestoit fors seulement li rois & sa fille . puis que li escus fu fais si con iou uous ai deuise lancelet le fist pendre a .i. pin qui estoit en lille & dilleuc auant vint cascun matin alescu faisant si grant doel que tout chil qui le ueoient sen esmerueilloient.

**L**ors prist .i. nain que li rois li ot laissie & li dist me saras tu a dire sil ara a piece tournoiemment pres de chi. sire oil fait chil iusca .iiii. iors en ara vn a vn bas castiel qui est a demie lieue pres de chi ore iua fait lancelet. & quant li tournoiemens deuea assamblar si ua par le tournoiemment criant li cheualiers mesfais mande a tous chiaus qui uont querant pris de cheualerie que ia nus ne uerra en lille de ioie por querre iouste quil ne la truiest tant con li cheualiers mesfais i sera & sil enia nul qui bataille uiegne querre il laura ia ni faura. ensi enuoia lancelet le nain au tournoiemment. quant il i fu uenus & il ot dites ces nouuies si le tinrent cil du pais a desdaing & disent quil liroient ueoir prochainement & si fisent il. mais nus niuint qui pour fol ne sen tenist. car il les outroit tous darmes. en poi deure conquist tous les cheualiers qui virrent de loing & de pres. nul nen ochioit pour tant quil se uausissent alui rendre. si enfu la renomee si grans par le pais que on ne parloit se de lui non & disoient que uoirement estoit che li merueilleux cheualiers & li mieudres qui

**E**onques fust el pais.  
En tel maniere demoura lancelet en lille de ioie [fol. 160, col. a] mais lille nestoit mie ensi apielee fors por les damoiseles qui iestoient auoec le roi pelles & auoec sa fille qui estoit en cele ille & faisoient le plus grant ioie del monde. ne ca ne feist si froit en iuer que cascune ne uenist cascun iour caroler entour le pin ou li escus estoit pendus & pour chou lapieloient chil du pais lille de ioie. mais atant laist ore li contes a parler de lancelet. & retourne a parler de percheual & de hestor qui uont par tout querrant lor ami lancelet du lac.

**O**r dist li contes que grant pieche ceuauchierent entre percheual & hestor par mainte terre estrange pour sauoir se ia auenture les menroit en lieu ou il peussent trouuer lancelet mais ensi lor auint que onques en lieu ne virrent ou on lor seust enseigner si en furent mout courechie. mais ainc pour chou ne laissierent lor uoie. si ceuauchierent ensamble maint yuer & maint este sans auenture trouuer qui fache a ramenteuoir en conte & tant quil virrent un ior a .ii. lieues de corbenic sour vne iauwe parfonde & roide & uoient en vne ille pres dilleuc .i. castiel biel & bien seant. il regarderent le castiel grant pieche qui mout seoit en biel lieu mais il ni uoient pont ne planche par ou on i peust passer. me sire hestor fait percheuaus sil ieust pont par ou on peust passer nous alissons a chele forterese pour sauoir qui imaint. car trop me samble li lieus biaux & iolis. par foi fait

hestor iou ne le puis mie ueoir legierement. car ceste iau est grande & parfonde si porrons tout perir dedens se nous nauions pont ou nacele. or nous arestons chi pour sauoir se diex nous conseileroit de passer outre. car se diex mait iou ne me mouuerai de chi deuant que iou saurai qui imaint.

**E**ntrementres quil parloient ensi il uoient uers eus uenir vne damoisele qui saloit esbanoiant parmi la riuere & portoit sour son puing un espreuier qui iert mout biaux si la saluerent au plus bielement que il porent & cele eus autressi. damoisele fait hestor si diex uous ait dites nous che que nous ne sauons mie. de coi fait ele. de che que nous uolons sauoir quel gent il maint lains. car nous le uaurions mout uolentiers sauoir. par foi fait ele che que ien sai uous dirai iou mout uolentiers. iou uous di quil maint la plus biel<sup>e</sup> damoisele del monde & estraitte de mout haut lignage. laiens a .i. cheualier. li [fol. 160, col. b] cheualiers est cascun iour a heure de prime sous cel arbre illeuc & fait si grant doel que onques ne ui faire grignor & il iuait si acoustumeement que ia nul iour ni faura. & tant uous di iou sans faille que cest li mieudres cheualiers as armes & li plus hardis qui en cest pais soit. & bien est cose prouee que cest li mieudres cheualiers du monde. car il ia passe .vi. ans quil vint en cest ille & i mist vne coustume que nus ni meist le pie se il ne fust li mieudres cheualiers del monde. si fist la coustume crier par tout cest pais uoles uos oir quele.

**C**he mande li cheualiers mesfais atous chiaus qui sont loing & pres quil ne faura ia de bataille a cheualier qui en lille viegne soit a prime ou soit anone & sil iuenoit en autre point il ne si combatroit mie. en i sont ia passe plus de .l. mais onques nus ne senparti qui ne fust outres ou conquis & nepourquant il est tant de boinares quil nen ocist nul. si les eust il tous ochis se il uausist. or men conuient aler fait ele si vous commant adieu. ha<sup>7</sup> damoisele fait hestor dites nous chou que nous vous demanderons. uolentiers fait ele. dites nous se uous sauies qui chil cheualiers est. si mait diex fait ele ie ne sai fors tant que aenture lamena en cest pais hors<sup>1</sup> du sens. si fu garis chies le roi pescheour. lors vint en ceste ille si a puis exploitie si con iou uous ai dit.

**O**r nous en seignies fait percheuaus par ou nous porons aler au cheualier & v nous porrons passer. che vous dirai ie bien fait ele. par dela cele ille au pie de cele tour a vne nef que on amaine cha. si i entrent chil qui au cheualier se doiuent combatre. si les atent cascun iour des leure de prime iusca none & les passe outre quant aenture les a amenes. mais il ni passe que uns cheualiers ensamble. ore ales adieu damoisele car bien nous aues assurees<sup>2</sup> de che que nous demandions. & cele senpart atant lors dist percheuaus a hestor me sire hestor alons huimais herbergier

<sup>1</sup> MS "fors."

<sup>2</sup> MS "assuees."

en aucun lieu & demain par matin uerrons chi. car iamaiz ne men partirai  
deuant che que iou saurai comment li cheualiers set ferir despee.

- A tant se partent du\* riuage<sup>\*1</sup> &\* uont\* bien\* vne lieue loins her-  
berghier chies .i. cheualier qui manoit a lentre dune forest. au soir\*  
5 quant il orent mangie lor demanda li cheualiers dont il estoient & il dient  
quil sont de la maison le roi artu & somes uenu en cest [*fol. 160, col. c, verso*]  
pais pour combatre au cheualier de lille. si mait diex fait chil pour  
combatre ne uous iloe iou mie a aler. car sil baast a ochirre cheualiers  
maint en eust ochis puis quil vint en lille. mais il nen ochist nul & si  
10 conquiert tous chiaus qui alui se combatent. atant le laisserent ester en  
teil maniere iusqual matin. & quant il furent leue si lor dona li cheualiers  
boines armes pour chou que preudome li sambloient & que mestier en  
auoient. & quant il orent messe oie & .i. petit mangie li sires monta o  
eus & dist que il iroit ueoir la bataille si se partirent del ostel ensamble  
15 & ceuachierent tant quil virrent a heure de prime la ou il trouuerent la  
nef. & le maroner. me sire hector fait percheuaus iou uous pri que uous  
ceste bataille motroies & il li otroie & li marouniers prent .i. cor diuoire  
si le met a sa bouche & le soune si haut que de bien loing le peust on  
oir. puis<sup>2</sup> dist a percheual quil entrast en la nef & il si fait & chille passe  
20 maintenant. & quant il sont outre uenu il le fait hors issir & li baille son  
cheual & ses armes & il senuait a chel arbre & garde a son harnois que  
riens ni faille. puis monta & atendi tant que li cheualiers fu issus  
du chastel armes mout richement dunes noires armes & fu montes sour  
vn noir cheual & tint lescu parmi les enarmes. & la ou il uoit le cheualier  
25 il li adreche le cheual. & chil autresi alui qui point nel doute. si sentre-  
fierent si durement ache que li hauberc sont fort & serre que li archon  
des seles rompent. si sentrabatent en tel maniere atere que li uns ne puet  
gaber lautre. mais il ni demourerent gaires. car mout estoient uighereus.  
si se relieuent & traient les espees & sentredourent moult grans couls.  
30 mais mout souuent esgarde percheuaus lescu au cheualier pour chou  
quil iot painte vne roine & .i. cheualier qui deuant lui iert tout a genous.  
ensi con sil criast merchi. si est li escus mout biaux & si diuers conques  
cheualiers nauoit porte itel

- Quant il orent commenchie la bataille si ni estoit nus qui uolontiers ne  
35 'lesgardast. car tant estoient andoi<sup>3</sup> preu que nus ne peust trouuer  
lor pareus. si depiecent en poi deure lor armes & lor escus & lor hiaumes  
si durement que andoi sont de sanc couuert. & ce les maine a estre plus  
orgueilleus li uns uers lautre. si dura tant [*fol. 160, col. d, verso*] la  
bataille que heure de none fu passee. lors sont andoi si trauellie que  
40 apaines se peuent il soustenir ains les couient maugre eus reposer pour

<sup>1</sup> The right hand bottom corner of fol. 160 recto, being much worn, the words marked \* are not easily legible.

<sup>2</sup> MS has "puist."

<sup>3</sup> Not easily readable in MS.

repandre lor alaines qui lor estoient falies si se traient vn poi ensus li uns de lautre. & sentreregardent & quant il sont .i. poi repose percheuaus parole au cheualier & li dist.

**S**ire fait percheuaus la grant proeche que iou voi en vous meesmement sa che que iou uoeille ou non mestuet demander uostre non. car se diex mait onques mais nacointai cheualier que uausisse ausi uolentiers counoistre comme vous & pour ce uous pri iou por dieu & par courtoisie que uous me dites uostre non. & comment vous estes apieles. sire cheualiers fait lancelet uous estes si preudom que iou ne le uos deueroie mie celer. or sachiez que chil qui me counoissent mapielent le cheualier 10 mesfait. & de che port iou si boines enseignes comme uous poez ueoir. or uous ai dit mon non. si uous pri que uous me dites le uostre & qui uous estes. & li li dist iou sui de la maison le roi artu si ai anon percheuax li galois & sui freres agloul.

**Q**uant li cheualiers a qui percheuaus se conbatoit entent cele nouuiele 15 si iete son escu a tere puis prist sespee & saienoilla deuant percheual & li dist sire cheualiers iou me tieng pour outre ne plus ne conbatrai a uous pus que vous estes de cel hostel. quant percheuaus uoit le cheualier deuant lui a ienous il ne li seufre mie longement ains lendrece & dist ha<sup>7</sup> cheualiers pour sire dieu que est chou que uous 20 faites. mais li cheualiers osta son hiaume tantost & li dist sire tenes mespee car iou me tieng pour outre. & percheuaus le regarde & uoit quil plouroit mout durement si sesmerueille mout pour coi cest. ha<sup>7</sup> sire iou uous pri par la rien que vous plus ames que uous me dites uostre non. & chil respont tout en plourant tant mauues conieure que iou le uous 25 dirai. on mapiele lancelet du lac. ha<sup>7</sup> sire vous soies li tres bien venus car iou ne demandoie se uous non. car plus a de .ii. ans que iou ne uous cessai de querre. mais dieu merchi ore est ma queste finnee puis que iou vous ai trouue saues uous qui cil cheualiers est qui la matent nenil noir fait lancelet. chou est fait il hestor des mares uostre freres 30

**Q**uant lancelet oi ceste parole il commencha a faire plus grant doeul que il nauoit fait deuant. si dist ha<sup>7</sup> biaux dous frere iou ne vous quidai iamais ueoir lors commande au marounier que il veist amener le [fol. 161, col. a] cheualier qui est ala riue. & quant hector fu passes en lille & il uit son frere il commencha aplourer de ioie & de pitie si lacole 35 & baise & fisent luns alautre si grant ioie que plus grant ne uous porroit nus dire. lors issirent du castiel cheualier iusca .x. qui estoient viel home & en cele compaignie fu la bielle fille au roi pelles qui menoit auoec lui iusca .xii. damoiseles. & quant ele uoit hector si li fist mout grant ioie. lors le mainent au castiel si le font desarmer. lors commencha la ioie 40 laiens si grans que on ni oist mie dieu tounant.

**Q**uant hector connut la fille au roi pelles si li demanda nouuieles de galaad le fil lancelet & ele dist que Galaad estoit li plus biaux enfes

du monde. si est ia grans comme chil qui bien puet auoir .x. ans. si mait diex fait hestor iou le uerroie mout uolentiers. si le porres par tans ueoir fait ele car iou sai bien quil conuoiera son pere quant il de partira de chaines. or me dites fait hestor comment uintancelot en cest pais. il i uint fait  
 5 ele si vieus & si hors du sens ca paines le peust on counoistre. mais si tost comme il aprocha du saint graal il fu garis si vint en cest ille pour che quil ni uoloit mie estre<sup>1</sup> conneus<sup>1</sup> si si est puis si bien celes que onques puis nus nel counut fors ie seulement & mes peres & uns siens nies. asses parlerent de cele cose iusca la nuit. a lendemain uintancelot  
 10 lot a hestor & hestor li dist. sire ma dame la roine uous mande si couuient que uous enuenes acourt. ce ne puet estre faitancelot que iamais i aille car ele le me desfendi. iou vous creant fait hestor que ele uous mande & il dist que dont iroit il. mais atant laist ore li contes aparler deancelot & de hestor & de percheual. & retourne aparler de boort & de lyonel.

15 **O**r dist li contes que boors & lyoniaus cheuaucierent moult lonc tans que il ne porent trouerancelot lor cousin & tant que il virrent .i. soir a .i. castiel moult biel & mout riche qui estoit au roi brangore de gorre & il cheuaucierent tant que il virrent ala maistre fortereche lors furent apareilliet escuier & seriant  
 20 qui lor tirrent lor estriers. quant boors & lyoniaus furent descendu de lor cheuaus il sen alerent amont el palais si trouerent le roi brangore qui lor vint a lencontre. & lors sen alerent [*fol. 161, col. b*] il tout .iii. ensamble & tant que li rois les maine a vne chambre si les fist tantost desarmer. & quant li rois counoist boort il le uait tantost acoler & baisier  
 25 & li fait si grant ioie que plus ne puet & li demande dont il vient & que il va querant. & boors li dist. sire nous alons querant mon seignorancelot mon cousin qui est perdu si que on ne set quil est deuenus. & lors dist li rois que cou est trop grans damages ala cheualerie & a la gent. & puis dist a lyonel que il soit li tres bien uenus & lyoniaus li dist que diex  
 30 li doinst boine auenture.

**S**i comme il parloient ensamble dunes coses & dautres atant es uous la fille au roi brangore si ricement uestue & apareillie que cestoit merueilles de lui ueoir. lors se lieue boors & tout li autre encontre lui. & si tost con la damoisele uoit boort ele le salue & boors li rent son salu  
 35 moult courtoisement. puis saset la damoisele de les boort si li demande dunes coses & dautres & tant que ele li demande nouieles deancelot comme t il le fait & boors li dist que il nen set nules nouieles & que est il deuenus fait ele. si mait diex fait il il est perdu si que on nen set ne uent ne uoie de lui. si mait diex fait ele ce poise moi. mais iai fiance en  
 40 dieu que nous orrons nouieles de lui prochainement car li cuers le me dist. diex le uolle fait boors. atant vint vns ualles deuant le roi & li dist sire quant il uous plaira uous ires souper car il est tout prest & li rois

<sup>1</sup> Not readable in MS.

commande tantost ametre les tables & eles furent tout maintenant mises  
lors leuent li cheualier lor mains & puis sasient. si mangue lyoniaus auoec  
le roi & boors auoec la damoisele. & saienaille vns biaux ualles deuant  
boort si le fiert si noblement & si bel & si bien que boors sen esmerueille.  
& quant il orent mangie tout a loisir & les tables furent leuees si sasist  
boors les la damoisele & li demande qui estoit li ualles qui si noblement  
lauoit serui a la table & la damoisele li dist nel conmissies vous pas. naie  
si mait diex fait boors. or sachiez fait ele que chest uos fiex & li miex.

Lors baissa boors la teste si deuint tous honteus  
Lors saienaille li ualles deuant lui & li dist sire naies pas honte de moi.  
car uostre [*fol. 161, col. c, verso*] lignages ne uous nares ia honte de moi  
se dieu plaist. quant boors entent le uallet. il li iete les bras au col si le  
baise mout doucement & li dist iou nai pas honte de uous ains en sui  
mout lies & mout ioians. mais iou ai honte dautre cose. lors le fait asseoir  
a ses pies. quant boors ot este grant pieche en pais il parole au roi & dist.  
sire ie uous pri & requier en tous guerredons que uous me donnes .i. don  
que iou uous demanderai & li rois li dist. demandes tout seurement uous  
lares outretement pour tant que laie en mon pooir. grans merchis fait  
boors iou uous demant que uous helinant mon fil laissies uenir od moi  
ala court le roi artu si le fera li rois cheualier & li rois li dist que che li  
plaist<sup>1</sup> bien.

Lors commenchierent aparler dunes coses & dautres tant quil fu heure  
de couchier. si salerent couchier en vne mout biele chambre. ou il ot  
fait .ii. mout riches lis. lors furent escuier & uallet apareilliet si les  
couchierent & apareillierent. li doi frere dormirent cele nuit moult aaise  
tant quil fu biaux iours & clers. lors vint li rois en la chambre ou boors  
dormoit & lioniax a grant compaignie de cheualiers. si dist que diex lor  
doinst boin iour & boine aventure. lors lor dist li rois. Signour il est a  
che uenu que uous vous en uoles aler sire font il que nous ne poons  
demourer. lors demande helyant son fil & il i vint tantost trop bien  
apareillies comme ualles. si li ot li rois ses taions fait apareillier trop  
rices reubes si comme il couient a cheualier nouuiel. & quant il furent  
apareillie il monterent sour lor cheuaus & puis prisent congiet au roi &  
ala damoisele & a tous ceus de laiens & il le commandent tout a dieu.  
mais moult prie la dame a boort que il prenge garde de son fil & il dist  
quil ne len couient mie proier. car il en fera autant comme peres doit  
faire de son enfant.

Lors se partent li un & li<sup>2</sup> autre plourant & larmoiant\* pour la grant  
amor que il auoient\* li\* un\* al\* autre & li rois sen retourne en son  
palais\* auoec\* sa fille & boors & lyoniaus ceuauchierent\* tant\* de\*  
iournees quil virrent a camaalot a\* vn\* vendredi\*. mais onques ne

<sup>1</sup> Partly effaced in MS.

<sup>2</sup> Words marked \* are not at all or only partly readable in MS.



ueistes teil ioie faire\* con\* fait\* li rois artus & la roine genieure & tous\* ceus\* de laiens fissent a boort & a lyonel quant il\* les\* virrent\* si demanda li rois\* nouieles de\* [fol. 161, col. d, verso] lancelet mais il nen sorent nules. lors furent cil de laiens tout esbahi si quil ne disent mot  
 5 dune grant pieche. apres demanda li rois aboort quant il furent desarme qui chil ualles estoit qui auoec lui estoit uenus. & boors li dist sire a qui

**Q**iel celui se iou nel uous celeroie mie. or sachiez que cest mes fiex  
 Quant li rois lot si en est tant lies que nus plus si li demande comment il a anon. & boors li dist quil a anon heliant le blanc & comment sire  
 10 fait li rois est che nies le roi brangoire. sire oil fait boors. enondieu fait li rois il soit li tres bien uenus. si uous pri boort que uous & tot cil de ceste court uous apareillies a faire honor a helianant. car iou le uoel faire cheualier diemenche au matin & boors & lioniaus len merchient mout. lors alerent mangier a grant ioie & a grant deduit. & quant il orent  
 15 mangiet tout par loisir & les tables furent ostees si commenchiarent aparler dunes coses & dautres tant que il fu heure de couchier si dormirent cele nuit mout aaise tant que li iors vint biaux & clers. lors se leuerent tuit si passerent cel ior & cele nuit a grant ioie & a grant deduit. quant vint au samedi au soir helyans fu baignies trop ricement & fu  
 20 bien apareillies. & quant uint au soir il fu menes au moustier a saint estieueene pour proier a nostre seignour & a sa mere que diex li laissast en tel maniere parfurnir sa cheualerie que che fust alonor de dieu & du roi artu & du roiaume de logres. & quant il ot este en proieres toute la nuit iuscal matin il senala vn poi couchier tant que il fu grans iours. adont se  
 25 leuerent tuit li cheualier & alerent au palais le roi

**Q**uant li rois & si cheualier & si baron furent asamble el palais auoec le roi. boors & lyoniex amenerent helyant moult ricement. puis sen ist hors du palais & tuit li cheualiers apres lui si sen uont au moustier saint estieueene quant il virrent ala porte du moustier li rois sareste & fait  
 30 uenir les sains & fait iurer helyant que il sera fiex & serians de sainte eglyse & se nus li uielt faire tort il li aidera a son pooir & se nule pucele & se nus cheualiers desconseillies ne nus hom a mestier de conseil uous le conseilieres a uo pooir si essaucheres cheualerie & destruires les maufaitors & les robeors. uous seres courtois & larges & de boinaires as  
 35 desconseillies. uous seres droitouries & direz uerite en toutes coses vous ne feres uilonie a nul home ne a nule feme se che nestoit a droit uous ameres dieu de tout uostre pooir & moi qui uos faich cheualier si me tenres por uostre seignor des ore en auant & iou uous tenrai pour mon cheualier quant li rois atout che conte que [fol. 162, col. a] il conuient a  
 40 cheualerie. helyans iure tout ensi comme il li a dit. lors sen entrent el mostier & font commencher la messe. & quant che vint au lire leplistle. li rois baudemagus cauche a helyant .i. de ses esperons & lyoniaus li caucha lautre & quant on lut leuangile li rois artus li cainst lespee & donna la



colee & li dist que diex le feist preudome. ensi demourerent al moustier tant que la messe fu toute cantee. si sen issirent adont du mostier li rois & tout si cheualier si sen alerent ou palais amont. & quant il virrent el palais & il furent assis li rois fist iurer a helyant la compaignie de la table reonde tout autreiteil serment comme il fist quant il fu cheualiers 5 nouuiaus. & lors sasient astables & mangierent a grant ioie & quant il orent mangie tout par loisir & les tables furent leuees si se deduisent li cheualier parmi la sale. en tel maniere con iou vous cont fu helyans fais cheualiers. mais atant laist ore li contes a parler de lui & retourne a parler de lancelet & de hestor des mares & de percheual.<sup>1</sup> 10

**E**n ceste partie dist li contes que quant lancelet & si compaignon furent parti de la cort le roi pelles il alerent cerkant auentures par le roiaume de logres si errerent grant pieche sans auenture trouer qui a conter fache & tant cheuauchierent en teil maniere quil virrent a camaalot & quant il furent uenu a court & li rois les uit il fu si lies que nus plus. 15 mais sour tous ceus qui en furent lie. enfu lie & ioieuse la roine genieure lors vint a court boors & lyoniaus. & quant il uirrent lancelet lor cousin il furent mout lie. si li dist boors. sire car parles a uostre cousin. & lancelet dist qui est chil qui est mes cousins. sire fait boors mes fiex helyans si li moustre. & lancelet li uait les bras tendus si lenbrache & li fait 20 mout grant ioie. puis li demande qui le fist cheualier & il dist li rois artus. si li conte tout ensi con iou vous ai conte & lors li dist lancelet gardes que couardise ne soit herbergie en uous mais hardimens & proueche & il dist quil sera teus que ses lignages nara mie reproche [*fol. 162, col. b*] de lui & lancelet dist que diex li doinst proece hardiment & sauoir. 25 quant lancelet & si compaignon furent desarme & repose. li rois fait apporter les sains & fait iurer a lancelet & a ses compaignons quil conteront la verite des auentures que il ont trouees que ia de mot nen mentiront & quant il ont iure lancelet conte son estre si con iou ai conte cha arriere. 30

**A**pres lancelet conta boors. & apres boort conta lyoniex apres lionel conta hestor & apres conta agloual & apres conta percheuaus & apres percheual conterent tout li autre cheualier qui en la queste de lancelet entrerent que onques de mot ni mentirent de cose que il eussent faite ne dauenture quil eussent trouee. & quant il orent contees lor 35 auentures lor proueches & lor hardimens li rois artus les fist metre en escrit a .i. sien clerc qui tous iours les i metoit. mais atant lais ore li contes a parler deus tous & retourne a parler du roi pelles & de sa fille

**O**r dist li contes que quant lancelet sen fu partis & li rois pelles uit que il sen fu ales il prist Galaad & le fist metre sour .i. palefroï 40 mout rice si li baille en sa compaignie .ii. oiuenes cheualiers & .i. viel moult preudome & .xii. ualles pour lui seruir & de lauoir lor done

<sup>1</sup> Miniature No. 15: "Ensi comme lancelet parole a helain le fil boort & laclele."

asses si les commande tos adieu. mais au departir pleure mout fort. & pour cou quil ne pooit autrement estre si baise madame helaine son fil Galaad puis le baise li rois pelles ses taions. apres le baise eliazar qui estoit freres sa mere. Galaad les commande a dieu si cheuaucent tant  
 5 entre lui & sa compaignie quil virrent en vne abeie de nonains dont labesse estoit sante si li fist mout grant ioie quant ele le connut & il demoura tant laiens quil fu grans damoisiaus & quil fu en laage de. xii. ans & de plus. lors fu tant biax tant preus & tant sages con nus hom de son eage peust estre & de les cele abeie ou il estoit auoit .i. hermite mout  
 10 preudome & de sainte vie. si laloit Galaad mout souuent ueoir par le plaisir de nostre signour & li hermites counisoit lenfant par la bonte que diex li auoit donee & bien pensoit que che seroit grant cose de lui. si li dist vn iour apres vnes paskes. biaux fiex vous estes desore mais uenus a droit eage de recevoir lordene de cheualerie. dont ne seres uous cheualiers a ceste  
 15 pentecouste. sire oil se dieu plaist dist Galaad car ensi le medient mi maistre.

**O**r tous nes & tous [fol. 162, col. c] espurgies des ordures du monde ains que vous receues lordene de cheualerie & il dist quil i enterra tex comme ili doit entrer se dieu plaist

20 **G**rant piece parlerent en teil maniere entraus .ii. ensamble. alendemain a heure de prime que li rois cachoit parmi la forest de camaalot auint cose que il vint illeuc oir messe a la capele a cel preudome. il apiela le roi artu & li dist. rois artus iou te di pour uoir & en confession que al ior de pentecouste qui vient sera cheualiers nouuiax cil qui les auentures  
 25 du roiaume de logres metra afin & uaura cel iour aconplir le siege peril-leus. or garde que tu semoingnes tous tes homes quil soient a camaalot la vegille de pente couste pour ueoir les merueilles qui le iour auenrent. sire fait li rois me dites uous uoir. iou le uous di fait il loiaument comme prestres. & li rois dist que de ces nouieles est il moult lies. lors dist li  
 30 preudom au roi. sire uoles uous que iou uous cont la samblanche du boin cheualier. certes fait li rois iou le desir mout & ie le uous dirai mout uolentiers fait li preudom

**M**erlins dist en sa prophesie que de la chambre au roi mehaignie istra la merueilleuse beste qui a merueilles sera regardee par le regne  
 35 auentureus. car ele sera de toutes bestes la plus diuerse. car ele ara teste & regart de droit lyon. si ara uois de ioieuse dame uergoingneuse & si ara espaulles & cors dolifant a toutes fors coses soustenir. si ara cuer dachier dur & serre quil nara garde de flechir ne damolier si ara pense & talent de droit iugier. si iara rains & nombril de pucele uirgene &  
 40 enterine. tele sera la beste merueilleuse si sera si fors. & si grans que les forces que deuant lui aront este serront niens qui verra lesfors de lui

**O**re aues oi la seneffanche de la merueilleuse beste si poes sauoir que ele samble lion a de uis. car il sera li plus fiers cheualiers del uis de

tous les autres. car nule beste na si fiere regardeure con li lyons. pour cou quil ara uois de dame uergoingneuse poes uous sauoir quil iert poi en paroles. & pour chou quil ara cors & espaulles dolifant que il iert de plus grant uigour de tous les autres. car nule beste nest si fors comme lolifans. pour chou quil ara cuer dachier dur & serre mest auis que a son hardiment ne se porroit nus apareillier [*fol. 162, col. d, verso*] & pour chou quil ara talent & pensee de droit iugeour dont il sera sans amour & sans haine. car il apartient a droit iugeour que il aint toutes les gens si quil les vns pour haine ne deport ne les autres pour amour. & pour chou quil ara rains & nonbril de pucele dont sera il uirges & castes teus sera chil qui de la lignie au roi mehaignie istera. & sachies que as soies proueches seront niens toutes les proueches de tous les preus. car il acomplira le siege pereilleux de la table reonde. & menra afin les dolereuses auentures de la terre auentureuse

**O**re aues oi rois artus de quele senefiance sera chil boins cheualiers. si maint diex fait li rois artus iou en sui moult lies si uous commanderai adieu. car iou men uoeil aler. a dieu soies uous commandes fait chil lors monte li rois sour son cheual & sa compaignie auoec lui. & senuait & demeure el bois iuscal soir. quant li rois fu uenus a camaalot il enuoia par le roiaume de logres & manda a tous ses barons & a tous ses cheualiers quil soient a court le iour de pentecouste. pour ueoir la plus grant court & la plus esforchie que il onques mais tenist. quant les nouuieles furent seues loing & pres si sesmurent de toutes pars por uenir acourt li baron & li cheualier si en ot maint assemble la uegille de pentecouste si que nus ne les ueist qui ne sen peust esmerueillier pour la grant cheualerie qui i estoit uenue & assemblee de toutes pars. si se taist ore li contes a parler deuls & retourne a parler de tristran de loenois.

**O**r dist li contes que tristran estoit en la ioieuse garde & de mouroit toutes uois auoec sa dame la roine yseult & estoit apareillies el tans paschor pour aler el roiaume de loenoys pour seiourner illeuc tout celui este. & la roine meesme si estoit bien acordee mais puis que tristran entendi que li rois semounoit ses homes & enuoioit ses lettres a tous chiaux qui de lui tenoient terre quil uenissent alui a camaalot au iour de pentecouste car il i tenra court la plus grant & la plus noble & la plus haute & la plus hounorable que il onques mais tenist anul iour de cest monde en la grant bertaingne.

**Q**uant tristran oi la nouele il dist quil ne se moueroit de la grant bertaingne deuant ce quil aueroit ueue cele feste. & cele grant court & por ce remest il adont & dist que il iroit sans faille & nel lairoit en nule maniere que a cele feste ne fust. car [*fol. 163, col. a*] il pense bien que a cele court ara moult grant cheualerie & grant feste & pour ce dist tristran quil demourra encore el roiaume de logres pour estre a cele feste que li rois artus doit tenir. il demande a ma dame iseut se ele ueut aler acele feste ou toutes les dames de ualour & les damoiseles de lignage verront. sire fait ele sauue uostre grace iou nirai mie mais uous i poes bien aler se il uous plaist pour cou que compains

estes de la table reonde. dame fait il<sup>1</sup> comment uous lairoie iou si loing de moi sire fait ele uous poes mout tost reuenir se il uous plaist. dame fait il puis que uous ni uoles uenir or sachiez que iou nirai mie. sire fait ele si feres se il uous plaist & uos dirai pour coi iou uoel que uous iaillies. ie ai tant oi  
 5 parler de ceste court & a uous & a autrui que iou croi que ele sera la plus rice & la plus haute qui onques fust tenue el roiaume de logres. & bien sachiez que tuit li compaignon de la table reonde i seront que il nen remanra ia .i. seus qui uenir i puist qui ne viegne & quant il seront tout assamble a ceste feste<sup>2</sup> vos amis qui estes li mieudres de tous les autres ni esties auoec eus  
 10 quen diroient il. il uous tenroient a maluais & diroient tout plainement que vous series recreans de bien faire por lamor de madame yseut il diroient que uous aries laissie toute cheualerie pour lamour de moi uous en series a hontes & iou enseroie deshounoree. si diroient tout mal de moi & honte de uous. ore esgardes sil est boin que vous eskieues cest blasma.

15 **D**ame fait tristran grans merchis de che que vous me faites connoistre lonor de moi miex que iou nel connoisse or sai iou bien que uos mames & pour ceste parole que vous maues dite irai iou ala cort sans faille. car iou sai bien que se iou ni estoie au iour que il seront tout assamble a la cort le roi artu li plusor diroient uilounie de moi & vous en blasmeroient & pour cest  
 20 cri abatre irai iou la & reuenrai tost se dieu plaist. car pus que iou serai demain partis de uous iou ne porrai por nule auenture du monde auoir bien ne ioie deuant icele heure que iou serai reuenus a uous. sire fait ele ie le croi bien vous moueres quant il vous plaira & uos sares quil en iert tans & il dist quil mouera venredi ou ieusdi ne mencaut mais que iou soie le iour de pentecouste a camaalot. sire fait ele il mest auis se uous atendes tant que uous ne  
 25 porres mie la uenir a tans. car iusques a camaalot a .iiii. boines iournees ce dient cil de cest pais. dame fait il or ne vous esmaies iou demorrai [fol. 163, col. b] iusca el tans que iou vous di & si iuenrai bien a tans a cel iour. car iou nirai pas armes fors de mespee & de mon glaiue ne ne menrai auoec moi  
 30 escuier nul. iou uoel uenir entreus si soudainement quil en soient tout esbahi. iou uoel uenir a cele feste comme cheualiers auentureus.

**S**ire fait ele ore oi merueilles ia saues vous certainement que el roiaume de logres a maint cheualier qui sont uostre anemi que sil auenoit par auenture quil vous trouuassent desarme il vous feroient tost anui se il  
 35 pooient. bien puet estre dame fait il. car il ne puet estre que iou soie de tous ames. car maint cheualier ai outre puis que iou ving el roiaume de logres qui encore ne mainment mie. ne iou ne sui li plus ames ne iou sui li plus hais de tous ceus de cest monde. or sachiez que iou i uoel aler en tel maniere comme iou vous ai dit & tous desarmes fors que despee & naies doute que de ceste uoie  
 40 ne me puet uenir se bien non. li cuers le me dist. sire fait ele diex le uoelle.

**A**tant definent lor parlement. tristran demeure o sa dame tant con li plaist. & quant il uoit quil ne puet plus demourer & que cheuauchier li conuient sil ueut uenir a la feste si prent congiet a sa dame & monte si se part de la ioieuse garde & il estoit si bien montes que entout le roiaume de  
 45 logres ne peust on adonc trouer .iiii. meillours cheuaus du sien. tristran se part tous seus de la ioieuse garde & ne maine auoec lui nule compaigne & mout se

<sup>1</sup> Not in MS.<sup>2</sup> MS "se vous;" compare fol. 142, col. c, verso, l. 4 from bottom.

haste de ceuauchier si li auint une merueilleuse auenture que il encontra en vne plaine palamedes arme de toutes armes. quant palamedes uoit tristran lome del monde que il plus haoit il li uint alencontre au ferir des esperons. or li est il bien auis que or puet il bien ochirre tristran se il ueut car tristran est tous desarmes fors descu & de lanche & despee si se muet auenir uers lui pour lui ochirre sans nul respit prendre. & tristran uoit palamedes qui ensi liuient a lencontre si abrieueement. li cuers li dist tantost que cestoit palamedes. & palamedes li escrie de mout loing certes tristran vous estes mors quant de mes mains escaperes iamaiz ne ferres coup despee. or uous ai trouue apoint

Quant tristran ot ceste nouele il sareste tout errant car bien set que cest palamedes li hom del monde qui plus le haoit. lors se pourpense tristran & dist que ferai iou encontre lui ne me pus iou desfendre che uoi [*fol. 163, col. c, verso*] iou bien & se iou me desfent ma desfense ni uaura riens car trop est preus palamedes. palamedes deuant che auoit abatu .i. cheualier & naure trop malement & encore gisoit li cheualiers illeuc tristran cou dist palamedes tu ies hounis tes daars iours est uenus. palamedes che dist tristran or sai iou bien que de toi nai iou garde. iou nai mie paour de toi se diex mait. pour chou se tu ies armes me quides tu espoenter par tes paroles nenil iou ne sui mie enfes qui sespoente de legier iou sui tristran qui hui en cest iour te honira plus uieument que hom fust onques mais honis car tous soies tu armes & iou desarmes si ne porras tu durer encontre moi. iou te conquerrai alounor de moi & tu mourras chi ahonte. or te garde de moi. car tu me lairas les armes se iou puis.

Quant il a dite ceste parole il ni areste plus ains laist courre a palamedes le glaue abaissie bruiant comme esfoudres & le fiert si durement en son uenir quil fait le glaue uoler en pieches. mais de la sele ne le remue. car de grant force estoit palamedes & moult ceuauchoit bien. il ne se remue pour tristran ne ne fait nul samblant quil se uoeille reuengier. quant tristran uoit palamedes il esgarde le sanlant quil faisoit & il uoit quil ne se remue il quide quil soit esbahis. si li dist palamedes comment test. ies tu mors. test li cuers faillis quant enuers moi ne toses desfendre. palamedes respont en sourriant tristran or uoi iou bien que tu asotes cascun iour. tu ies ore plus fox que anten. palamedes fait tristran sui iou fox. & iou puis bien dire de toi que tu ies li plus fols & li plus maluais couars & plus faillis que tu ne soloies tu ne toses de moi desfendre ce uoi iou bien

Tristran ce dist palamedes. quides tu ore que iou te laisse a assillir pour paour que iou aie de toi. nenil che saches tu bien. tu ses bien quel renomee & quel los de cheualerie iou ai eue iuscachi de tous ceus qui me connoissent & se iou ore endroit por poi de cose perdoie le los que iou ai conquis iou aroie mal exploite. or me di se diex tait uerite de che que iou te demanderai. uolentiers certes fait tristran se cou est cose que iou te doie dire. se tu fuisses armes si con iou sui & tu trouuaises vn tien anemi desarme & desgarni se diex te doinst boine auenture lasauroies tu en tel maniere ou tu len lairoies aler [*fol. 163, col. d, verso*] or me di que tu en feroies. palamedes dist tristran or uoi iou bien a coi tu bees quant tu me demandes que iou feroie en vne itele auenture dun mien anemi. iou le te dirai tout maintenant.

saches que iou len laisseroie aler que autre cose nen feroie. car iou re porroie faire plus grant uieute que dassaillir mon anemi desarme & iou seroie armes. & se il tasoillit ce dist palamedes que li feroies tu. iou men departiroie au miex que iou porroie. car alui ne meteroie iou le main se ce nestoit pour lui garandir.

Tristran ce dist palamedes iou tai fait iugier pour moi tu meesmes gardes mounor. tu meesmes as parle comme loiaus cheualiers & sages & enseignies. si mas dit que iou doi faire de toi qui es mes anemis. saches ausi lenpensoie iou afaire ne autrement nel uoloie iou faire ne neusse fait se tu leusses dit autrement. tristran or saches tu bien que iou ne uoel mie perdre lounor que iou ai conquisse por toi honir de ta mort ne me ueroit mie si grans preus quil peust abatre la honte que iou iconquerroie. por ce te di iou que iou me uoel ore souffrir de la grant haine que iou ai atoi. vne autre fois par aventure te trouerai en meillier point. se tu as ta lance brisie sour moi iou men souferrai atant acesti fois. car bien uengerai cest courouch. or ten pues aler quiteiment. mais se aventure tamaine une autre fois entre mes mains & tu estoies armes saches de uoir que li vns de nous .ii. imourroit.

Quant tristran entent la frankise que palamedes li fait. il li vient a moult grant merueille. il ne quidast iamais que il le feist en teil maniere car il set bien que palamedes le het morteument. & quant il la trouue en teil point si amasure il li vient amout grant merueille. tristran fait palamedes or saches que iou nel fai mie pour toi ne pour cose que iou taime ains le fai pour mounor garder. car iou ne me uaueroie honir pour toi ne pour autre tant con iou me peusse garder. mais ore me di se diex te saut ou uas tu en teil maniere sans compaignie & desarmes. certes dist tristran iou menuois a camaalot tant con iou pus hui en cest iour si con iou quit isont assamble tout li boin cheualier du monde crestien si mi couient estre demain pour che que tuit mi compaignon de la table reonde iseront. & pour cou que trop auoie demoure a uenir que iou ni peusse uenir apoint pour tant que iou la laisse armes. iuois iou ensi con iou [fol. 164, col. a] iuois pour estre a cele haute feste. certes ce dist palamedes il mest auis que chil ceuaus sour coi tu sies est mout traueillies si te dirai que tu feras chis cheuaus sour coi iou siec au mien ensiant est li mieudres & li plus fors & li plus legiers qui soit el roiaume de logres. li rois artus lamoit mout & le prisoit sour tous autres cheuaus. & iou le conquis auan & me combati alui pour la conuoitise du cheual plus que pour autre cose. iaim mout cest cheual & moult lai esprouue & tant cunnois son grant pooir que iou sai bien uraiement que se nus cheuaus te doit porter ius'ca camaalot cis .ti. portera sans faille. si uoel que nous descendons ambedui & se il te plaist tu prenderas mon cheual & iou prendrai le tien. tu feras mieus ceste besoingne du mien que du tien.

Quant tristran entent la<sup>2</sup> parole & il uoit la courtoisie que palamedes li fait il en deuint tous esbahis. il esgarde le cheual palamedes & puis le sien si li est bien auis que palamedes li die uoir. palamedes dist tristran. tu me

<sup>1</sup> MS has "us."

<sup>2</sup> After "la" is a gap large enough for one word; it appears that the space was left by the scribe of the MS. On fol. 143 verso, col. d, the corresponding passage runs: "quant tristran ot ceste parole."



fais tout esmerueillier des paroles que tu me dis. il mest auis que iou ne peusse estre si courtois uers toi comme tu ies uers moi. tristran dist palamedes. se tu nes courtois cest tes damages car il nest nus cors tant soit chetis & estrais de petit lignage se aussi haute cheualerie se fust herbergie en lui que toute courtoisie & toute frankise ne deust estre auoec. & quant tu ies si boins cheualiers con iou sai & tu nies bien courtois ta proueece est poure & eslongie de tous biens ne ne porroit bien definir. certes se toute courtoisie estoit perdue si la deueroies tu retrouver pour la haute cheualerie qui est en toi. or monte si tenua atant & te souuiegne des paroles que iou tai dites. 5

Quant il sont andoi descendu tristran qui est tous esbahis de che quil ot & uoit que palamedes li offre & remue son harnois de sour son cheual & le met sor le sien & quant il est apareillies du monter il dist palamedes se diex me saut iou te haoie mout na mie grantment mais tant ai ore ueu en toi que tu me fais entroublir la haine que iou auoie a toi. ensi con iou porroie mon ami merchier dune bonte iou ten merci & menuois a court a ceste grant feste que li rois artus doit tenir. tout li boin cheualier du monde iseront che ma on conte & iou iuois pour ueoir les cheualiers qui iseront & croi uraiement que merueilleuses auentures auenront a ceste court. tristran ce dist palamedes. puis que nous deuons departir fai tant por moi que tu me salues le [fol. 164, col. b] roi artu quant tu le uerras & se li di que se iou ne fuisee tant enbesoingnes de grant affaire iou ne laisse en nule maniere que a sa feste ne fuise. mais iou sui tant enbesoingnes que iou ni puis aler. & mon seignor lancelet sour tous les autres le plus courtois le plus sage le plus de boinaire le miex parlant que on sache en tout le monde me salueras & li di que palamedes est tous siens pour faire a son pooir quanquil li uauroit commander. 25 & mon seignor gaheriet le frere mon seignor Gauaine noublie pas que tu ne le me salues chil est preudom si con tu ses si le me salueras & li diras de par moi que iou sui tous siens bien le sache.

A tant se departent. palamedessen tourne & tristran senuait le grant chemin tant comme il puet onques<sup>1</sup> cel iour ne cessa de poindre ne desperoner en tel maniere ne onques ne reposa par iour ne par nuit tant quil uint pres de la chite de chamaalot ou li rois artus tint si grant feste que de plus grant noi onques nus hom parler mais a tant laist ore li contes a parler de tristran & retourne aparler dune autre chose de ceus qui iestoient uenu ala feste de pentecouste.<sup>2</sup> 35

H. OSKAR SOMMER

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<sup>1</sup> "cheuauchier" omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Now the scribe returns to his subject — i. e., *Le Roman de Tristran* — thus: "Chi endroit dist li contes que si grans honours & si grans gloire uint adont en la chite de camaalot que nus ne fust a cele feste pour tant quil uest les cheualiers les dames & les damoiseles & les pureoles qui a cele feste estoient uennes quil nel tenist a grant merueille que nous diroie iou illeuc peust ueoir qui i fust rice atour de dames & de cheualiers," etc.





### THREE ASTURIAN POEMS BY MARCELINO FLORES, BERNARDO ACEVEDO, AND TEODORO CUESTA

Among the several "regional" tongues of Spain, two have risen to positions of considerable literary importance: Catalan publications come out by scores every year,<sup>1</sup> and Galician books are fairly numerous.<sup>2</sup> But Bable has a much humbler standing; aside from scattered newspaper articles, its literature seems to be limited to a few poetic collections that will doubtless soon be out of print if they are not already in that vexatious condition. Under the circumstances, specimens of the Asturian dialect are rather hard to get hold of, and new ones are welcome additions to the present scanty supply. I have recently come across three, along with various other translations, in the works of a Catalan writer, Joaquim Rubió-Ors,<sup>3</sup> and print them here so as to make them more readily accessible to persons interested in the subject.

M. FLORES

#### "*Canción de infancia*"

Mal apenes risca l día ya lu escurez noche negra:  
I así a to frente, oi tan nidia, ceo arrugará la pena.  
Solo l cariñu de madre ye siempre l mesmu ena tierra.  
Añérate, mi alma, nel, como ena concha la perla.  
Ofrecerat' esti mundu guapos caminos, mió neña,  
Toos enllos de flores con mas escayos que fueya.  
¡ Ai de ti si l mió cariñu non cúida de to inocencia !  
Añérate en el, mió vida, como ena concha la perla.  
Com' una mariposina vas co les roses en fiesta;  
¡ Ai si quiciáes mañana te dan les flores tristeza !  
Ye que dexaste l cariñu q' oi a to ma la embelesa,  
I non t' añeraste nel, como ena concha la perla.  
Fuélgueste oi co les gallines gasayosina i contenta,  
I mañana los galanes an de rondá la to puerta.  
¡ Probe de ti si l cariñu de to ma por ti non vela !

<sup>1</sup> The last volume I have seen of the *Revista de bibliografía catalana* (1903) gives about a hundred titles.

<sup>2</sup> Carré, *La literatura gallega en el siglo XIX*, Coruña, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> *Lo Gayter del Llobregat*, Vol. II, pp. 201, 282, 315. Barcelona, 1889.

Añérate, fia, nel, como ena concha la perla.  
 Si l mundu tristeza ye, como el cielo e gloria eterna,  
 Pa que al cielo pueda dir sin pasar por lloru i pena,  
 Fai, Señor, q' esti anxelin en mió seno un cielo tenga  
 I que nel so fieru faiga como ena concha la perla.

B. ACEVEDO

*"Puesta de sol"*

¡Que grande ye, al morrer l' astro del día!  
 ¡Cuandu, amanti, a la tierra dende l' adusta sierra  
 So besino postreru i dulce unvía,  
 Dulce i friu, como beso d' angonia!  
 ¡Cuandu so lluz, q' a la mirá n' ofiende,  
 Como polvu de grana verbena n la quintana,  
 I sub' al cielu i per uquier s' estiende  
 I coralinos d' oro n todú priende!  
 ¡Que guapu ver les flubes pintadines,  
 Del ventiquin en ales, esnala que t' esnales  
 Entornu al sol, que mat' a les probines  
 Como mata l candil les paxarines!  
 ¡Que sele i mansiquino l mar de plata!  
 La barca fachendona co la vela picona  
 Inchá, vien cancia l puertu i fiende, ingrata,  
 L' espeyu n que sñidiandu se retrata.  
 ¡I cuandu Dios alciend' allá n' asfera  
 Esquirpiáes d' estrelles q' asemeyan centelles,  
 Como si fiestas en el cielu hubiera  
 I nelles Dios ficiés bona foguera!  
 ¡Cuandu n dulce quexíu les campanes  
 Dicen adiós al día, i la malanconía  
 Con que lloren a un tiempu les quintanes,  
 Bosques, ríus, regatus i fontanes!  
 Pero ¡pa qué, Señor, tanta guapeza  
 I alegría punxiste xunta la sombra triste?  
 ¡Ye bien q' otru sol pida i apeteza  
 El mundu, o fora ya muncha grandeza?  
 Si cuantu muerr' nesta llamuerga scura,  
 Dend' el prob' al monarca, tien del duelu la marca,  
 ¡Pa qué al morrer del sol la lluz mas pura  
 Pon el mundu tan guapa vestidura?  
 Pensaba nestu, cuandu misteriosa  
 La voz d' algún henchizo dixome: "si Dios fizo  
 "Que la muerte del sol fos tan grandiosa  
 "I todú se vistiés d' oru i de rosa,

"Fo perque, al veti nella, Dios quería  
 "Grabar en tu memoria q' el combate tien gloria,  
 "La sombra lluz, como la nueche día;  
 "Q' ai un sol en sin fin tras to angonia."

T. CUESTA

*"Vuelta a la poesta"*

Lo mesmo que l guerreru, q' apurre n cien batalles  
 Al enemigu intrépitu sablazos a fatar,  
 Fendía ve la llanza, que cuelga co les malles  
 I cúida nuevos triunfos mañana q' algamar;  
 Ansina yo gociosu, dimpués q' a Dios del cielu,  
 Como a la triste patria, en troves mil canté,  
 El arpa viendo mústiga, sin sones pa mi anelu,  
 Barruntos gayaseros con ella abandoné.  
 ¿I como non facello . . . triando mil llugares  
 Tan lloñe de la tierra u l sol lluciente vi,  
 Sin que la dulce fabla, morosinos cantares  
 La xente saborgara que s' afayaba allí?  
 ¡Ai triste! con enoxu s' oíen les canciones  
 Que l alma, fe manando, unviaba l Criador,  
 I a so benditu nome, frios los corazones,  
 Sin comprender so llengua fuxien del cantor.  
 Entós el destrumentu pretome so tenrura  
 I fixe pa les neñes mas troves que n Abril  
 Del campu surten roses al besu de ñatura,  
 Mas ¡ai! nin una neña m' afalagó ente mil.  
 Coronas, dicha, gloria . . . selin se m' esnidiaba,  
 Como la mariposa que vemos revoltiar;  
 Llacéries m' ablucaben . . . la gloria que soñaba  
 Mil utros l' algamaron nacíos pa gociar.  
 Empapiellé de pena ¡que muncho! non sabía  
 Que la mió triste gaita folgábeste n oír;  
 Al fin por mi una estrella nel cielu resplandía,  
 Mas nunca los miós güeyos la vieron relleucir.  
 Perdóname, mió reina . . . pos a saber q' ufana  
 Miós troves escuchabes, ¡Juasús! cuantes, pa tí,  
 Iguás yo co l' ayuda de musa per galana  
 Anq' envidiosu l mundu fixés mofa de mi.  
 ¿Los omes que m' importen? ¿A que pensar na gloria?  
 Tenga quien miós canciones escuche con amor,  
 Pos miániques, penosu, llevar debe al istoria  
 So nome, quien nel alma gafez sienta i dolor.  
 ¡O neña melguerina! atendí a miós cantares;

La llama del poeta na frente siento arder,  
 I a so primer rellumu, en diches, los pesares  
 Que l alma atristayaron, trocáes podré ver.  
 Por ti otra vez el arpa descuelgo, q' amusgada  
 Del furrufosu clavu pingaba n un rincón,  
 Como l guerreru vólvi, al ruegu de so amada,  
 A reflundiar la llanza con fuelgu de lleón.  
 Na fabla de los ánxeles, miós cantos, xana bella,  
 Por gasayate solo de nuevo sonarán;  
 I tos güeyos, tormentu de la mas pura estrella,  
 Al ver llorar los miós, quiciáes llorarán.  
 Por ti non mas, al nome de patria dulce i santu,  
 Nel ara el sacru inciensu omilde quemaré,  
 I en imnu fervorosu al cielu irá mió cantu . . . .  
 Por ti, pa les zagales, nuevas troves faré.  
 Como l galán que texe co les mas gayes flores  
 El ramu pa la neña a quien amor xuró,  
 Lo mesmo améstar quiero miós cánticos meyores,  
 I a tos plantes rendíu el don facete yo.  
 I si dacuando l géniu mió frente n si allugara  
 Como Petrarca, Tasso o Dante, que feliz  
 Me vieres rapacina, pos to nome trocara  
 Por el de Laura bella, Leonor o Beatriz.

E. H. TUTTLE

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

CONCERNING SCHILLER'S TREATMENT OF FATE  
AND DRAMATIC GUILT IN HIS *BRAUT*  
*VON MESSINA*

The relation of this drama to Schiller's own ripest theory of human life and to the fate-drama of the Greeks has been the subject of considerable discussion since the work was completed in 1802. Critics have emphasized the poet's desertion of Shakspeare and the adoption of the spirit of ancient tragedy, marked by the *Braut von Messina*. Schiller's own letter of September 9, 1802, to Körner, in which he says the play "lasse sich wirklich zu einer aschyleischen Tragödie an," and that of February 17, 1803, to Humboldt, in which he expresses the hope that his friend, who had always called him "the most modern of poets," may now recognize his claim to consideration as a modern who has really appropriated the spirit of the ancients, are stock arguments of those who see in the *Braut von Messina* a fate-drama like that of the Greek masters. We are reminded of Schiller's association with Goethe, the enthusiastic admirer of Greek civilization and especially of Greek art, and also of his independent investigation of Greek life and dramatic poetry, reflected in his own poetic confession of faith, *Die Götter Griechenlands*.

The two features of Schiller's play that have been most frequently traced to his acquaintance with and admiration of the Greeks are (1) the idea of fate and (2) the chorus. It is however true, as Ludwig Beller mann says,<sup>1</sup> that of all the extant dramas of the ancient Greeks but a single one, i. e., Sophocles' *Ædipus*, is dominated by the idea of fate. Fate (*Moirā*) is in this single drama the sort of predestination that can by no conceivable act of the human will or shifting of human relations be avoided. The world is here in the clutch of forces that make or mar the lives of men, with no regard to the purity or the baseness of their intentions. It is a prearranged scheme of occurrences

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Beller mann's Introduction to the play in his edition of Schiller's works, Vol. V, p. 163.

precipitated by impersonal and personal agents, all of which are alike unconscious of releasing the springs of destiny that produce human history.

Now Bellermaun points out that Schiller has by no means accepted without modification this view of *Moirai* that dominates Sophocles' *Œdipus*.<sup>1</sup> He tells us the Greek poet saw that a world like that imagined in this drama excluded the possibility of moral guilt, of responsibility; and he arranged his plot accordingly, so that the hero in the innocence of his heart fulfils the oracle, wholly without consciousness of the awful nature of his acts. He adds that Schiller, while retaining the idea of predestination and inevitability, ascribed to his hero a certain moral guilt: Don Cesar is neither ignorant nor impassive; he smites his brother in fulfilment of a mysterious oracle, to be sure, but he does it under the stress of passion and, by willing the death of his own kinsman, incurs the responsibility of a conscious act. Bellermaun concludes this part of his analysis by inferring that, while Schiller gained by uniting the Œdipean with the more modern conception of the world, in the way of a more human appeal to our sympathies, he lost much for our logical sense through the resulting inconsistency between the old and the new.

The purpose of this paper is to examine somewhat closely the nature of *fate* and *tragic guilt*, as used by Schiller in his tragedy.

Professor Carruth published in 1902, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. <sup>(N. S. 16)</sup> ~~III~~, pp. 103-24, an article entitled "Fate and Guilt in Schiller's *Die Braut von Messina*," which in the main supports by quotation from the drama itself the following view of the matter:

He is in harmony with Bellermaun in finding that Schiller has admitted into his fate-drama a degree of responsibility for the tragic outcome foreign to Sophocles' *Œdipus*, which he generalizes as "the Greeks."<sup>2</sup> He finds the family of Messina, rather than any one member of it to be the hero of the play—a view which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *loc. cit.*, pp. 164, 165.

<sup>2</sup> The extent to which the belief of the ancient Greeks in the dire effects of inherited tendency to sin and crime has been unwarrantably generalized, as identical with the spirit of Sophocles' unique drama, *Œdipus*, is interesting and worthy of careful attention on the part of critics.



tallies with that of the present writer. At variance with the views of Heskamp, Hoffmeister, and Bormann, he contends that actual moral guilt and its punishment are not the "essential theme" of the drama, supporting this contention by Isabella's lines, 2506-8:

Dies alles  
Erleide ich schuldlos. Doch bei Ehren bleiben  
Die Orakel, und gerettet sind die Götter;

by confining to Don Cesar the application of the final words of the play:

Das Leben ist der Güter höchstes nicht,  
Der Übel grösstes aber ist die Schuld;

and, finally, by pointing out that Don Cesar is the only one of the characters guilty of an overt crime, and that he is not the central personage of the action.

Carruth then urges that, in the absence of *moral guilt*, there may be some Aristotelian fault (*Ἀμαρτία*), "unwisdom, or indiscretion on the part of others which induces the catastrophe." He finds this fault clearly indicated in Don Manuel's secretive character throughout the first act, in the words of the chorus, ll. 954 f., in Isabella's words, ll. 1450 f., and in the words of her sons, ll. 1293-98. He points especially to the explicit outburst of Don Cesar, ll. 2410 f.:

Und verflucht sei deine Heimlichkeit,  
Die all dies Grässliche verschuldet,

and concludes from these indications and from the additional evidence of a large number of passages throughout the play, containing the words *heimlich*, *Geheimnis*, *verhehlen*, *verschweigen*, *verbergen*, *Verstellung*, *verschleiern*, *Stille*, *dunkel verdacht* and others, that secrecy is not merely the dramatic guilt of the mother but the very atmosphere of the drama. The children have inherited from the mother through the ties of blood and the force of example the same secretive and furtive habit of mind and action. Carruth concludes, p. 112, that *secretiveness* is the dramatic guilt of the *Braut von Messina*.

An examination of the evidence submitted by him and careful scrutiny of the whole play in the light of it has convinced the present writer that, while *secretiveness* certainly has much to do

with shaping the tragic events of the plot, it is not equally clear that secretiveness is the sole ingredient of the dramatic guilt here treated by Schiller. The complementary fault of the house of Messina is, in the ancestry, *ruthless disregard for the rights of others and violent appropriation of the objects of one's likes, regardless of consequences*. The chorus exclaims, ll. 203-11:

Warum ziehen wir mit rasendem Beginnen  
Unser Schwert für das fremde Geschlecht?  
Es hat an diesen Boden kein Recht.

Auf dem Meerschiff ist es gekommen,  
Von der Sonne rötlichem Untergang;  
Gastlich haben wir's aufgenommen

(Unsre Väter, die Zeit ist lang),  
Und jetzt sehen wir uns als Knechte,  
Untertan diesem fremden Geschlechte;

implying that high-handed, Viking robbery has produced the present territorial and political condition of the country. The chorus is equally explicit concerning the old Prince, whose wife and children are the actors of the tragedy. His likeness to his ancestors, in impulsive disregard of all obstacles to the gratification of his own will, is called to mind by the chorus, ll. 961-69:

Auch ein Raub war's, wie wir alle wissen,  
Der des alten Fürsten eh'liches Gemahl  
In ein frevelnd Ehebett gerissen,  
Denn sie war des Vaters Wahl.  
Und der Ahnherr schüttete im Zorne  
Grauenvoller Flüche schrecklichen Samen  
Auf das sündige Ehebett aus.  
Greuelthaten ohne Namen,  
Schwarze Verbrechen verbirgt dies Haus.

Here we have, also, distinct hints of other family skeletons not likely to remain quiet in the traditional closet. For the chorus adds, ll. 970-75:

Ja, es hat nicht gut begonnen,  
Glaubt mir, und es endet nicht gut;  
Denn gebüsst wird unter der Sonnen  
Jede Tat der verblendeten Wut.  
Es ist kein Zufall und blindes Los,  
Dass die Brüder sich wütend selbst zerstören.

This commentary throws a bright light upon the idea of fate (*Schicksal*) that dominates the play. It reveals the author of *Wallenstein*, convinced that we live in a world of such universal causation, as to admit of no accident or blind destiny. As Wallenstein himself says, *Tod II*, 3:

Es gibt keinen Zufall;  
Und was uns blindes Ohngefähr nur dünkt,  
Gerade das steigt aus den tiefsten Quellen,

so Schiller, in his period of maturity, conceives man as living in a world regulated by law, to which every object in the universe, other than the human will, must yield absolute obedience. With Kant he still exempts the human will from the action of this law and thus vindicates for man through freedom of the will a certain microcosmic superiority to the world of cosmic regularity. He leaves, however, all human faculties other than the will under the sway of law. As in *Wallenstein*, our attention is focused upon the play of the hero's will upon other human wills and upon circumstances, in the formation of that character, whose fatal weakness is the tragic element of the plot, so in the *Braut von Messina* our attention is called at the outset by the chorus to the hereditary nature of the fraternal hatred and strife that constitute the tragedy.

The queen knows very well the outbursts of anger that characterized her late husband and induced her to keep her own counsel and to avoid the disastrous results of opposition to his will. In requesting the old servant Diego to bring back now from the cloister her daughter, Beatrice, she says, ll. 108-11:

Zu lange schon erstickt' ich der Natur  
Gewalt'ge Regung, weil noch über mich  
Ein fremder Wille herrisch waltete.

This was the same iron will that aggravated by stern repressive treatment the violent disposition inherited by the boys, Don Manuel and Don Cesar, from their father. For Isabella says, ll. 34-38:

Zwar weil der Vater noch gefürchtet herrschte,  
Hielt er durch gleicher Strenge furchtbare  
Gerechtigkeit die heftig Brausenden im Zügel.  
Und unter Eines Joches Eisenschwere  
Bog er vereinend ihren starren Sinn;

and she continues, ll. 41-44:

So hemmt' er zwar mit strengem Machtgebot  
Den rohen Ausbruch ihres wilden Triebs;  
Doch ungebessert in der tiefen Brust  
Liess er den Hass.

Her husband's unbending will and his savage sternness have forced the queen to adopt methods of secrecy, to preserve the life of their daughter. It is true that Schiller introduces here, in harmony with his purpose to suggest the spirit and movement of *Œdipus*, a double oracle, as apparent motivation of the father's cruel purpose to drown the child and of the mother's action in secreting her daughter, without formal vows, within the walls of a convenient cloister. But the violent temper, the selfishness, and the brutality of the ancestry of the Prince and of the Prince himself are made perfectly clear by the words of Isabella and of the chorus, already quoted. These traits of character are an ample motivation of the threatened and averted crime alluded to by Isabella, ll. 1325-29:

Und ich ward Mutter einer Tochter;  
Der Vater aber gab den grausamen  
Befehl, die neugeborene alsbald  
Ins Meer zu werfen. Ich vereitelte  
Den blutigen Vorsatz und erhielt die Tochter  
Durch eines treuen Knechts verschwiegenen Dienst.

Initial fear of violence at the hands of her liege lord led the queen naturally enough to adopt a stealthy habit of mind and action, ll. 2080, 2081:

Den Mann zu täuschen, den umsichtigsten  
Der Menschen.

We must recognize then in the unbridled passion, the wild outbursts of anger, and the stern inflexible will of the father of the house the cause of the secretiveness recognized by Carruth as the tragic guilt of the play. Both mother and sons have been influenced by this temper of the Prince to adopt furtive means to secure their ends. This appears especially in the older son, Don

Manuel. His habit of mind, acquired like that of his mother by bitter experience, is phrased by him in ll. 651-55:

Geflügelt ist das Glück und schwer zu binden,  
Nur in verschlossener Lade wird's bewahrt.  
Das Schweigen ist zum Hüter ihm gesetzt,  
Und rasch entfliegt es, wenn Geschwätzigkeit  
Voreilig wagt, die Decke zu erheben.

It appears also to a lesser degree in the more positive and aggressive characters Don Cesar and Beatrice, as the quotations presented by Carruth show.

But even Don Manuel acts at critical moments blindly, in instinctive obedience to the rash impulsiveness of his race. While not disposed to question Diego for light upon the past of his beloved, ll. 758, 759:

Nie wagt' ich's, einer Neugier nachzugeben,  
Die mein verschwiegenes Glück gefährden konnte,

he spirits her away, with never a thought of possible danger, upon hearing of plans for her early return to her family, ll. 786-89.

Kein Augenblick war zu verlieren, schnell  
War mein Entschluss gefasst und schnell vollstreckt.  
In dieser Nacht raubt' ich die Jungfrau weg  
Und brachte sie verborgen nach Messina.

We share the view of the chorus, expressed by way of rebuke to Don Manuel, ll. 790-94:

Welch kühn verwegen räuberische Tat!  
— Verzeih', o Herr, die freie Tadelrede!  
Doch solches ist des weisern Alters Recht,  
Wenn sich die rasche Jugend kühn vergisst.

The brother's disposition to yield unquestioningly to blind impulse, and to grasp without hesitation whatever promises for the moment happiness or enjoyment, is shared in even greater measure by his sister Beatrice. To be sure she is troubled later, as he is not, by qualms of conscience, a feature quite in harmony with her sex and cloister breeding. She exclaims, for instance, ll. 1006-15:

Wo waren die Sinne?  
 Was hab' ich getan?  
 Ergriff mich betörend  
 Ein rasend Wahn?  
 Den Schleier entriss ich  
 Jungfräulicher Zucht,  
 Die Pforten durchbrach ich der Heiligenzelle!  
 Umstrickte mich blendend ein Zauber der Hölle?  
 Dem Manne folgt' ich,  
 Dem kühnen Entführer, in sträflicher Flucht.

The same ancestral impetuosity is the occasion of her conduct regretted by her in the words, ll. 1037-39:

Vergib, du Herrliche, die mich geboren,  
 Dass ich, vorgreifend den verhängten Stunden,  
 Mir eigenmächtig mein Geschick erkoren.

She follows her impulses, good or bad, without reflection. So, when she left the garden and entered the church against the explicit bidding of Don Manuel, ll. 1072-79:

Kalt ergriff mich das Entsetzen  
 Als ich in die nahe Kirche  
 Wagte meinen Fuss zu setzen:  
 Denn mich trieb's mit mächtigem Drang  
 Aus der Seele tiefsten Tiefen,  
 Als sie zu der Hora riefen,  
 Hinzuknien an heiliger Stätte,  
 Zu der Göttlichen zu flehen,  
 Nimmer konnt' ich widerstehen.

She confesses later to Don Manuel her impulsive disobedience, when she says, ll. 1891-99:

Die Begierde war zu mächtig.  
 Vergib mir! Ich gestand dir meinen Wunsch;  
 Doch plötzlich ernst und finster liessest du  
 Die Bitte fallen, und so schwieg auch ich.  
 Doch weiss ich nicht, welch bösen Sternes Macht  
 Mich trieb mit unbezwinglichem Gelüsten.  
 Des Herzens heissen Drang musst' ich vergnügen.  
 . . . . .  
 Ich war dir ungehorsam und ich ging.

Similarly we see her rush precipitately almost into the very arms of Don Cesar, instead of into those of her supposed lover, ll. 1105-10.

These are, one and all, the passionate children of uncurbed desire, with whom love at first sight is a matter of course. We have noted this already in the case of Don Manuel and Beatrice; Don Cesar is more highly strung than the other two. He says of his first glimpse of her whom he loves, ll. 1541-43:

Fremd war sie mir und innig doch vertraut,  
Und klar auf einmal fühl' ich's in mir werden:  
Die ist es, oder keine sonst auf Erden.

The resistless rush of an imperious will that brooks no obstacle to its immediate fulfilment prompts Don Cesar's words to Beatrice, ll. 1144-50:

Und dass ich fest sogleich den Zufall fasse  
Und mich verwahre vor des Dämons Neide,  
So red' ich dich vor diesen Zeugen allen  
Als meine Gattin an und reiche dir  
Zum Pfande des die ritterliche Rechte.  
Nicht forschen will ich, wer du bist—ich will  
Nur dich von dir; nichts frag' ich nach dem andern.

It also takes everything for granted and makes the speaker leave the side of his beloved abruptly, before there is time for a word of explanation that might have prevented the final catastrophe. This inherited impetuosity is, in the present instance and elsewhere repeatedly in the drama, the only thing that prevents such a revelation of the true state of the case, by a truthful reply to a natural question, as to render impossible the fatal issue of the action.

Even Isabella, the queen, has her own share of inherited or acquired wildness of temper that frets and fumes at delay. When she expects a reconciliation of her sons, she shows by her words to the elder statesmen of Messina that she is tired of their arguments and their opposition and looks now for obedience from a subject race, by no means the equal of her own. Cf. ll. 92-100:



Seid denn bereit, die Herrscher zu empfangen  
 Mit Ehrfurcht, wie's dem Untertanen ziemt.  
 Nur eure Pflicht zu leisten seid bedacht,  
 Fürs andere lasst uns andere gewähren.  
 Verderblich diesem Land und ihnen selbst  
 Verderbenbringend war der Söhne Streit;  
 Versöhnt, vereinigt sind sie mächtig g'nug,  
 Euch zu beschützen gegen eine Welt  
 Und Recht sich zu verschaffen—*gegen euch!*

She knows the history of the princely house and remembers the relation of their present state to the story of violent conquest, dispossession, and subjection that explains their control of Messina. She knows their subjects obey them, not because they will, but because they must. She warns her sons against the subject race, in her efforts to induce them to trust each other, rather than the men they have wronged. Cf. ll. 338-43:

Glaubet nimmermehr  
 Dass sie euch wohlgesinnt zum besten raten!  
 Wie könnten sie's von Herzen mit euch meinen,  
 Den Fremdlingen, dem eingedrungenen Stamm,  
 Der aus dem eignen Erbe sie vertrieben  
 Sich über sie die Herrschaft angemasst?

When she hears from Diego of the disappearance of her daughter from the cloister, she turns without further inquiry to her sons and urges them to rush away in blind pursuit of a hypothetical corsair. Cf. ll. 1623-27:

Ergreift  
 Die Waffen! Rüstet Schiffe aus! Durchforscht  
 Die ganze Küste! Durch alle Meere setzt  
 Dem Räuber nach! Erobert euch die Schwester!

Don Cesar reacts at once upon the impatient exhortation of the mother and hurries away without a word of inquiry, ll. 1629:

Leb' wohl! Zur Rache flieg' ich, zur Entdeckung.

And when Don Manuel, obedient to his cooler temper, asks for information as to name, place, etc., Isabella rebukes him with a renewed exhortation to haste, ll. 1633, 1635, 1637:

Eile! Frage nicht!  
 Fliege zur Tat! Des Bruders Beispiel folge!  
 Sieh meine Tränen, meine Todesangst!

Thus questions and answers are avoided that would otherwise have averted the tragic outcome of the play. When Don Cesar returns presently for a token by which to identify his sister, Don Manuel has heard from Diego's lips, ll. 1663-70, words that impel him to hasten away alone, to satisfy his doubts as to the relation of his sister to his bride, l. 1674:

Folge mir nicht! Hinweg, mir folge niemand!

Beatrice has witnessed the violent energy of Don Cesar, when he proclaimed her to his following as his wife, and she warns her as yet unidentified brother against Don Cesar's fierce impulsiveness in the words, ll. 1878-80:

Bei allen Heiligen des Himmels, meid' ihn!  
Begegne nicht dem heftig Stürmenden,  
Lass dich von ihm an diesem Ort nicht finden.

Don Cesar acts consistently the part of the unreasoning man of wild impulse, blinded by insane jealousy, when he stabs his brother to death, on finding Beatrice in the latter's arms. Cf. ll. 1901-5;

Blendwerk der Hölle! Was? in seinen Armen!  
Giftvolle Schlange! Das ist deine Liebe!  
Deswegen logst du tückisch mir Versöhnung!  
O, eine edle Stimme Gottes war mein Hass!  
Fahre zur Hölle, falsche Schlangenseele!

The insane outburst of anguish and revenge, uttered by Isabella upon seeing the dead face of her son, before she knows who murdered him, in the words, ll. 2324-27:

O Fluch der Hand, die diese Wunde grub!  
Fluch ihr, die den Verderblichen geboren,  
Der mir den Sohn erschlug! Fluch seinem ganzen  
Geschlecht

suggests that the violent disposition of the children is in part inherited from the mother. This inference is strengthened by her railings against heaven itself before discovering the tragic truth. Cf. ll. 2382-95:

Nicht zähmen will ich meine Zunge, laut,  
 Wie mir das Herz gebietet, will ich reden.  
 Warum besuchen wir die heil'gen Häuser  
 Und heben zu dem Himmel fromme Hände?  
 Gutmüt'ge Toren, was gewinnen wir  
 Mit unserm Glauben? So unmöglich ist's,  
 Die Götter, die hochwohnenden, zu treffen,  
 Als in den Mond mit einem Pfeil zu schiessen.  
 Vermauert ist dem Sterblichen die Zukunft,  
 Und kein Gebet durchbohrt den eh'rnen Himmel.

Nicht Sinn ist in dem Buche der Natur.  
 Die Traumkunst träumt, und alle Zeichen trügen.

She does not listen to the remonstrance of the chorus, that warns her of the fearful presence of the gods she denies, ll. 2396-99. The argument is clinched by Isabella's really titanic revolt against heaven itself, upon learning the terrible truth. Cf. ll. 2492-97:

Was kümmert's mich noch, ob die Götter sich  
 Als Lügner zeigen, oder sich als wahr  
 Bestätigen? Mir haben sie das Ärgste  
 Getan. Trotz biet' ich ihnen, mich noch härter  
 Zu treffen, als sie trafen. Wer für nichts mehr  
 Zu zittern hat, der fürchtet sie nicht mehr.

She spurns the child of her own flesh in his moment of supreme agony, exclaiming bitterly, ll. 2498-2502:

Ermordet liegt mir der geliebte Sohn,  
 Und von dem lebenden scheid' ich mich selbst.  
 Er ist mein Sohn nicht. Einen Basiliken  
 Hab' ich erzeugt, genährt an meiner Brust,  
 Der mir den bessern Sohn zu Tode stach.

It is quite true that Isabella presently regrets these bitter and unjust words; cf. ll. 2661 ff.; but it is equally true that her use of them under the awful stress of the moment is entirely in accord with her character, as revealed elsewhere in the play. These are words that cannot be successfully recalled, when the mood is past that gave them birth. Addressed as they are to Don Cesar's sense of guilt and grief, they evoke a mood in his own stormy spirit, which breeds an unalterable resolve to slay himself, in order to share with his brother in death the equal regard and love of

his mother and his sister. This conclusion of the action, while by no means the result alone of Don Cesar's reaction upon the reproaches of his mother, is felt by the reader to be the only logical solution of the situation, in view of the impulsive nature of all the characters concerned.

In the light of the foregoing considerations, the following inferences seem inevitable:

a) The house of Messina has an aggressive, fighting ancestry, who had at some time conquered the people of the country and bent them to their will.

b) Violence of temper, disregard of consequences and of the rights of others, and rash impetuosity are qualities inherited by later members of the race in varying proportion from their fierce ancestry.

c) The father of Don Manuel and Don Cesar was himself a man of violence, who had disregarded the marriage relations of his own father, when selecting his wife; had by his stern, inexorable control of his household and by his fearful bursts of anger browbeaten his wife into a furtive habit of mind; and had aroused in his high-tempered sons by a policy of rigid suppression such a spirit of angry opposition, as greatly to aggravate the hostility of their personal relations.

d) Each of the three children of the prince had inherited in various degrees from this father a strong disposition to impulsive self-assertion, to passionate substitution of personal desire for calm reflection, and to habitual disregard of consequences.

e) Isabella, the queen, also had a noticeable tendency to act on the spur of the moment with little thought of the probable results of such action. She had contributed therefore by heredity and example to the nervous excitability and lack of self-control so eminently characteristic of the three children. Her constant fear of her husband and resulting habit of secretiveness were bound duly to influence the thought and action of her sons, especially of the more passive of the two, Don Manuel.

f) Schiller found in these conditions the means needed for constructing a drama on modern lines by the use of the symbols of the *Edipean* drama. Fate is here, as surely as in *Wallenstein*,

the resultant of given hereditary tendencies in active combination with environment and free human will. The symbol of the oracular dreams brings the play into external harmony with its ancient prototype, the *Œdipus* of Sophocles; but it does not conceal from the attentive observer for an instant the fact that the tragic action is precipitated, not by the oracle, but by the characters of the direct and the indirect listeners to the oracle.

g) Carruth's view<sup>1</sup> that secretiveness is the dramatic guilt involved needs to be modified in this sense: Violent self-assertion and its corollary, emotional excess, are fundamental faults of the father and mother, transmitted by them to their children. In the head of the house they so prevailed as to produce in the wife and mother the secondary fault of secretiveness, communicated by her in lesser measure to the sons. Violent self-assertion and emotional excess are primary ingredients, while their product, secretiveness, is a secondary ingredient of the dramatic guilt in question. The human character, which in its savage ancestral form had crushed a foreign nationality by conquest and subjection, occasions in a later generation, when turned by circumstances against itself, the downfall of a princely house.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Held also by Eugen Kähnemann in his *Schiller* (München, 1905), pp. 555 f.

<sup>2</sup> The tragedy abounds in other passages similar to those quoted in the foregoing, and supporting more or less cogently the main contention of the present writer; cf. ll. 25, 33, 35, 36, 42, 49, 53-57, 145-49, 172-74, 194-96, 226-28, 233, 254, 430, 421; impulsive reconciliation: 467-524; Don Manuel's love at first sight: 704-8; 865-90, 893-945; the chorus' condemnation of Don Manuel's abduction of his bride: 955-58; Beatrice recalls the criminal record of the house of Messina: 1217-24; 1795, 1796, 1802-5; Don Cesar's recognition of his own guilt: 2520, 2521; 2556-59, 2731-47, 2825-38.

## THE INDICATIVE IN AN UNREAL CONDITION

I winna yield to a braken-bush,  
Nor yet will I unto a brier;  
But I would yield to Earl Douglass,  
Or Sir Hugh Montgomery, if he *was* here.

—*Battle of Otterburn*, version B, date unknown. See Sargent and Kittredge's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, p. 391.

If he *was* not a fool he would not suffer his business to be carried on by fools.—Pepys' *Diary*, July 12, 1667.

"Ah, brother," said Christian, "surely if I *was* right, he would now arise to help me."—Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*<sup>1</sup> (1684), p. 194.

And, behold, she saw as if a broad parchment *was* opened before her.—*Ibid.*, p. 216.

Our heart oftentimes wakes when we sleep, and God can speak to that, either by words, by proverbs, or by signs and similitudes, as well as if one *was* awake.—*Ibid.*, p. 268.

It looks as if something *was* written thereon.—*Ibid.*, p. 284.

Beauty of the body, which is the woman's glory, seems to be now unequally bestowed and nature (or rather Providence) to lie under some scandal about it, as if it *was* given a woman for a snare to men.—Defoe's *Academy for Women* (1697).

If I *was* not angry, I would immediately cause thee to be put to death.—Cotton's *Translation of Montaigne's Essays* (1700), chap. lxviii.

If I *was* not more afraid of tiring than of scandalising your lordship, I could quote, etc.—Bolingbroke's *Letter*, 4 (before 1750).

What would be left to me, if I myself *was* the man who softened . . . all the distinguishing colors of my life?—Burke's *Bristol Speech* (1774).

I suppose you would aim at him best of all, if he *was* out of sight.—Sheridan's *Rivals*, V, 3 (1775).

*Was* I in a desert, I would find out.—Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, I, 85 (1778).

*Was* this the only point to be determined, there would not remain a moment's doubt.—Letter of George Washington (1778), published in *Harper's Monthly*, January, 1907, p. 289.

<sup>1</sup> Though Bunyan's syntax is based chiefly on the Authorized Version of 1611, this use of the indicative occurs neither in the Bible nor in Shakspeare.

These citations show that *was* for *were* in an unreal condition is older than the date hitherto assigned. Matzner<sup>1</sup> quotes Sheridan's *Rivals* (1775) as the first occurrence. Dr. Murray<sup>2</sup> pushes the date back only to Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1684). Sweet<sup>3</sup> says: "In the colloquial language of the last [18th] century, there was a tendency to substitute *was* for *were* even in clauses of rejection," that is, in unreal conditions. This statement is not strong enough. The tendency to use the indicative instead of the subjunctive was by no means confined to colloquial language. Nor is it confined to colloquial language today, as the following quotations from nineteenth-century writers show:

If it *was* not completely ridiculous, it would be something worse.—Byron's Preface to *The Vision of Judgment*.

I would not have said this for the world, if I *was* not a little anxious about my own girl.—Bulwer's *Money*, 3, 2.

What should I be, if I *was* deaf to the poverty and sorrows of others?—Bulwer's *Alice*, 1, 1.

Being unaware that the letter is not in his possession, he will proceed with his exactions as if it *was*.—Poe's *Purloined Letter*.

Altogether, it seems as if there *wasn't* any place for me in this world.—Letter of Sidney Lanier (see Mims's *Lanier*, p. 199).

Please read and answer this letter as though I *was* not President, but only a friend.—Letter of Lincoln to Grant, January 19, 1865.

Don't heed me any more than if I *was* a speaking machine.—Mr. Lorry in Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities*, chap. iv.

Sir, there is a villain at that Maypole that . . . will marry your son to that young woman as certainly and surely as if he *was* the Archbishop of Canterbury himself.—Sim Tappertit in Dickens' *Barnaby Rudge*, chap. xxiv.

There's enough . . . to pay for it, if it *was* a score of casks full.—Hugh, *ibid.*, chap. lii.

Do you suppose, if all this *was* true, that Mr. Haredeale would be constantly away from home, as he is?—John Willet, *ibid.*, chap. liv.

<sup>1</sup> *Englische Grammatik*, II, 130.

<sup>2</sup> *Oxford Dictionary*, s. v. "be," p. 717.

<sup>3</sup> *Syntax*, § 2268.



How often, before I knew your trade, did I hear you talking of this as if it *was* a treat?—Hugh, *ibid.*, Vol. II, chap. xviii.

I wouldn't say much to him, master, if I *was* you.—Hugh, *ibid.*, Vol. II, chap. xix.

He'd write letters by the ream, if it *was* a capital offense.—Miss Trotwood in *David Copperfield*, Vol. II, chap. xxiii.

Now, you know, Copperfield, if I *was* Lord Chancellor we couldn't do this.—Traddles, *ibid.*, chap. xxxiii.

I feel as if I *was* doing wrong, though I am doing right.—Letter of Thackeray (see *Century Magazine*, Vol. LXVII, p. 504).

It would seem as if I *was* drunk, and not you.—Thackeray's *Virginians*, I, chap. x.

My servants said your negro man began to sing it in the kitchen as if he *was* a church organ.—*Ibid.*, I, chap. xxii.

She treats me as if I *was* a fool.—*Ibid.*, I, chap. xxxiv.

She keeps off from me as if I *was* a pestilence.—Thackeray's *Henry Esmond*, Book I, chap. xii.

I believe she would be glad if I *was* dead.—*Ibid.*, Book I, chap. xii.

If I *was* Cadogan, I would have a peerage for this day's work.—*Ibid.*, Book II, chap. xv.

Instantly it seems to him as if she removed herself from him infinitely and *was* a sacred precinct.—Emerson's *Essay on Love*.

If I *was* sure of thee . . . I should never think again of trifles.—Emerson's *Essay on Friendship*.

It looks as if I *was* going to send you the first three chapters of my Grandfather.—Robert Louis Stevenson's *Vailima Letters*, II, p. 176 (August, 1896).

They hear of the death of people about their own age, or even younger, not as if it *was* a grisly warning, but with a simple child-like pleasure.—Robert Louis Stevenson's *Aes Triplex*.

If the present *was* happy, I should try to live in that.—Robert Hichens in *Harper's Bazaar*, February, 1906, p. 116.

I have spoken as if the changes referred to were made "in the lump," that is, as if the word-order *was* first settled in every respect.—Jespersen's *Progress in Language*, § 76.

Nor could any other local standard be substituted for that of London

without manifest danger—even if the acceptance of such a standard *was* possible.—Brander Matthews' *Parts of Speech*, p. 68.

But a dip into the *Century Dictionary* again revealed that a Scotchman had not waited for an American to use the word [preparedness], and that it had been employed by Bain, not even as though it *was* a novelty.—*Ibid.*, p. 154.

If all the year *was* summertime,  
And all the aim of life  
*Was* just to lilt on like a rhyme—  
Then I would be your wife.

If life *was* all a summer fête, etc.

—Ella Wheeler Wilcox's "An Answer" (in *Poems of Passion*, p. 89).

Many will complain that I am settling myself firmly in that field of antiquity, as if there *was* no other.—Matthew Arnold's *Letters*,<sup>1</sup> I, p. 55 (December 12, 1855).

It poured all night as if the sky *was* coming down.—*Ibid.*, I, p. 310 (May 23, 1865).

If it *was* not for this consideration, the exaggerated language of all the English newspapers . . . would be perfectly unaccountable.—*Ibid.*, I, p. 356 (October 24, 1865).

We have been fifteen years married, and it seems as if it *was* only last week.—*Ibid.*, I, p. 385 (June 10, 1866).

The whole feeling of this morning was as if I *was* looking at something quite unreal.—*Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 88.

The effect was as if he *was* working his own way.—*Ibid.*, p. 204.

I should feel more sympathy with Germany, if it *was* only a question of its being welded together.—*Ibid.*, p. 235.

If the Archbishop *was* so alarmed as to realise to himself the state of things, he might help us.—*Ibid.*, p. 337.

And so I began to feel as if the cloud *was* lifting.—*Ibid.*, p. 415.

I think if I *was* beginning again I should begin with a serious study of *Paracelsus*.—*Ibid.*, p. 415.

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<sup>1</sup>The only two sources from which I have attempted to reproduce all of the occurrences of this idiom are Matthew Arnold's *Letters*, Vol. I, and the letters in the *Life and Letters of Dean Church*.

# "CAPADOS," AND THE DATE OF *SIR GAWAYNE* AND *THE GREEN KNIGHT*

A word "capados" occurring twice in *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* has given some difficulty to Middle-English scholars. It is found in the description of the Green Knight:

Fayre fannand fax vmbe-foldes his schulderes;  
A much berd as a busk ouer his brest henges,  
pat wyth his hizlich here, pat of his hed reches,  
Watȝ euesed al vmbe-torne, a-bof his elbowes,  
pat half his armes per vnder were halched in þe wyse  
Of a kyngȝ capados, pat closes his swyre,

and in the account of Gawain's preparations for his venture, where he steps on the carpet to receive his armor:

Dubbed in a dublet of a dere tars,  
& syten a crafty capados, closed aloft,  
pat wyth a bryȝt blaunner was bounden withinne.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Frederick Madden thought "its derivation is clear, from the French *cap-à-dos* and doubtless means a hood or close cap descending low on the neck."<sup>2</sup> Another explanation has been offered. In the French epic *Fierabras*, the hero:

.I. cuir de Capadoce va en son dos jeter,  
Il fu blans comme nois, boin fu pour le serrer,  
Pardeus vest l'auberc qu'il ot fait d'or saffrer,<sup>3</sup>

and Viollet-le-Duc<sup>4</sup> rightly considers the "cuir de Capadoce" a part of the gambison. Tyrwhitt in a note<sup>5</sup> upon the "jambeux

<sup>1</sup> *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, ll. 181-86, 571-73; cf. the description of the green-mantled giant in *Fled Bricrend*, "Und (sein Haar) auf ihm war die grosse buschige Krone einer Dorflinde, unter der eine Winterschafherde, in der 30 Jährlinge Platz haben, Raum fande."—H. Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1900, 386; cf., also, 384-86.

<sup>2</sup> *Sir Gawayne*, pp. 314, 315. F. Michel, *Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language*, 1882, 92, has added nothing to the subject.

<sup>3</sup> *Fierabras*, 612-14; cf. 805; Provençal version, 1001, 1138; K. Hofmann, *Rom. Forsch.* I, 118; Caxton's *Charles the Grete*, ed. Herrtage, p. 63, cf. p. 58, 27-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Dict. du mobilier français*, VI, 85; cf. Joinville, *Hist. de St. Louis*, ed. Wailly, c. 52, "Getai un gambison en mon dos." On the gambison, gambison, cf. V. Gay, *Glossaire arch.*, 757; A. Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, 2d ed., II, 38; V. Schirling, *Die Verteidigungswaffen im altfranzösischen Epos*, 49; S. Meyrick, *Archaeologia*, XIX, 210; Du Cange, *Observations sur Joinville*, *Glossarium*, VII, 350.

<sup>5</sup> Note to C.T., 13,804.

of quirboilly" in Chaucer's *Tale of Sir Thopas*, cités passages from Froissart in which it is stated that the Saracens covered their shields with "cuir bouilli de Capadoce." F. J. Amours, accepting Viollet-le-Duc's explanation, and citing the passages of Froissart, concludes that the first of the passages cited from the Middle-English poem shows "that the capados is not a hood but a gambison reaching up to, and fitting close round, the neck. Like the snow-white garment that the knight in *Fierabras* wore under his hauberk, Sir Gawain's gambison was doubtless of Cappadocian leather."<sup>1</sup> I hope to show that the *capados* must be a head-dress, and cannot be the gambison.

Madden no doubt conjectured the meaning of "hood" by a comparison with similar descriptions of dress in the poem. The *capados*, like the Green Knight's falling locks, protected the back of the neck; and the Green Knight, in order that Gawain may have a clear stroke:

His longe louelych lokkez he layd ouer his croun,  
Let þe naked nec to þe note schewe (ll. 419, 420);

and later, when it is his turn to return the blow, he bids Gawain,

Halde þe now þe hyȝe gode, þat Arjur þe raȝt (l. 2297).

Like the *capados* the hood is lined with *blaunner*:

A mere mantle abof, mensked with-inne,  
With pelure pured apert, þe pane ful clene,  
With blyþe blaunner ful bryȝt, & his hod boþe,  
þat watȝ laȝt fro his lokkez, & layde on his schulderes  
(ll. 153-156);

His surcoat semed hym wel, þat softe watȝ forred,  
& his hode of þat ilke henged on his schulder,  
Blande al of blaunner were boþe al aboute  
(ll. 1929-31; cf. ll. 878-81),

and is a separate garment, and not a part of the tight-fitting body-dress.

Hent heȝly of his hode, & on a spere henged  
(l. 983; cf. l. 2297 *supra*).

This internal evidence is only corroborated by a study of mediæval head-dresses.

<sup>1</sup> *Notes & Queries*, IX, 4, 308; cf. A. S. Napier, *Med. Lang. Notes*, XV, 11.

The hood was adopted by the laity from the clerical dress at the end of the twelfth century,<sup>1</sup> and was, in various forms, the universal head-covering for centuries in France and England.<sup>2</sup> In the fourteenth century it was a sort of pointed bag, with an oval opening for the face. The lower part of this hood covered the shoulders and upper chest, as can best be seen in reproductions of mediaeval drawings,<sup>3</sup> and such evidently is the "a kingez capados," with which the Green Knight's flowing hair and beard are compared. Brought closely round the head, "closed aloft," when traveling,<sup>4</sup> or wishing to remain incognito,<sup>5</sup> it "hinged on his schulder," when its wearer so wished. Sir Gawain's "capados" is put on after his doublet; in an Old-French book of courtesy one finds the directions, "Vous mettrez ensuite votre blanchet ou votre futaine, puis vous affublerez votre chaperon."<sup>6</sup> The Latin word for the garment, *caputium*, *capitium*,<sup>7</sup> was rendered in French by *chaperon*,<sup>8</sup> which appears in Middle-High-German in several forms; *schaprân*, *tschabrân*,<sup>9</sup> etc. The French word rarely appears in Middle-English,<sup>10</sup> as the

<sup>1</sup> Quicherat, *Histoire du costume*, 160, 161; Du Cange, s. v. "*caputiati*," II, 167b.

<sup>2</sup> Quicherat, 160, 191, 195, 228; Viollet-le-Duc, III, 131 ff.; Gay, 330 ff.; Du Cange, s. v. "*caputium*," II, 166b.

<sup>3</sup> Schultz, I, 175; Planche, *Cyclopedia of Costume*, 293 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Neckam, *De nominibus utensilium*, "Equitaturus capam habeat . . . cujus caputium aeris minas non exhorreat, vel sudum non formidat." *Eberts Jahrb.*, VII, 63; cf. 155; Schultz, I, 305; cf. Chaucer, *Book of the Duchesse*, 1023, "Go hoodles to the drye see;" *Works of Chaucer*, ed. Skeat, I, 486. In the citation from Neckam, the hood is a part of the cloak, as in such proverbial expressions as "Mal fait la chape, qui ne fait le chaperon," Tobler, *Li proverbe au vilain*, 56, 153. But this was not the case in the fourteenth century; cf. Gower, *C.A.V.*, 4786, 4787, "Fulofte time a man hath lost The large cote for the hod;" cf. *ibid.*, 7716.

<sup>5</sup> Du Cange, II, 166c; s. v. "*capucium clausum*;" *Flamenca*, 2222; 2545, 3183; *Rom. de Rou*, III, 1656, 2029; Schultz, I, 305.

<sup>6</sup> Quicherat, 200. On *blanchet* and *futaine* as synonyms of *doublet*, *ibid.*, 182, cf. C.T. 75, 76, "Of fustian he wored a gipoun, al bismotered with his habergeoun."

<sup>7</sup> Du Cange, s. v. "*caputeum*, *caputium*, *capitium*." From *capitium*, doublet for *caputium*, must be distinguished *capitium*, "opening in the upper garment, through which the head was passed," which had a semantic and phonetic history of its own; cf. Du Cange, II, 146b; Horning, *Z. f. r. ph.*, XVIII, 234; *Mod. Phil.*, III, 543, n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Eberts Jahrb.* VII, 63; *Not. et extr.* XXVII, 2, 38. A common word in Old-French, even if Godefroy has only noted a few examples in *Dict. de l'anc. lang. franc.*, IX, 43.

<sup>9</sup> Schultz, I, 305; Benecke, *MHD Wörterb.*, II, 287; H. Palander, *Mém. de la soc. néo-philologique de Helsingfors*, III, 93, 126, 190.

<sup>10</sup> N. E. D. cites only one example from Wycliffe. As part of a woman's dress, worn in France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Gay, 333), when imported into England it was known by its French name, or as a *French-hood*. Cf. the translation of Perrault's "Le petit chaperon rouge," by "Little Red Riding-Hood" in the eighteenth century—1729-44 (W. F. Prideaux, *Athenaeum*, April 13, 1907).

term *hode*<sup>1</sup> was preferably used. That the word *capados* is not peculiar to *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* is evidenced by its appearance elsewhere. Jamieson in his *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*<sup>2</sup> has cited two entries from the *Aberdeen Council Records* for 1548; "vii capidocis of veluet," "Capydois," and has noted that in Aberdeen at the time of his writing, "a hairy cap generally worn by boys was known as a capiedossie," a meaning not confined to this single locality in Scotland. What seems to be a corruption of the word is to be found in a document contemporaneous with *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*. In the accounts of John Marreys, King's Tailor, from the twenty-ninth of September, 18 Edw. III, 1344, to the first of August, 19 Edw. III, 1345, appears the item, ".ij. capedhusts;"<sup>3</sup> in the accounts of the General Wardrobe, for 22 Ed. III, 1348, is found the entry, "ad liniandum capedehustes Regis vij ulnas curte tele de Reynes;"<sup>4</sup> and again in the accounts of Marreys from the twenty-first of December, 19 Edw. III, 1345, to the thirty-first of January, 23 Edw. III, 1349, appears, "Et ad liniandum cappedehustes tunicas supertunicas et alia garnimenta Regis—L ulnas curte tele de Reyns."<sup>5</sup> One finds "captyhowse" as a gloss for "capitium" in a metrical Latin vocabulary;<sup>6</sup> and is this a less distorted form of the same word as "caprowsy" in Dunbar's *Flyting*: "And ane caprowsy barkit all with sweit,"<sup>7</sup> for which no rational etymon has been suggested? and is there not a further step from the original form of the word in John

<sup>1</sup> Wright's *Vocabularies*, 570, 23; 650, 23; 773, 35. Way, *Promptorium Parvulorum*, I, 242.

<sup>2</sup> I, 373. The word does not appear in *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, ed. J. Stuart, 2 vols., 1844-48.

<sup>3</sup> N. H. Nicolas, *Archaeologia*, XXXI, 6; cf. 141, 142, where appears the misprint, "caped-hurst."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 13; cf. 142.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 21, 143.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Arundel 248, fol. 88, Halliwell, *Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words*, I, 230, s. v. "capados," has merely cited the word without the Latin word of which it is the gloss. From a transcript of a few lines of the manuscript, which I owe to my colleague Dr. J. S. P. Tatlock, who informs me it is about 120 lines in length, it is evidently of the same character as those printed in Wright's *Vocabularies*, 622 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Schipper, 330. Cf. the allusion to chaperon-wearing Scots, "Les Escos as caperons," in *Sone de Nausay*, 3027.

Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, where a chamberlain, attending his master's dressing, is bidden,

take hym hode or hat for his hed, cloke, or cappe de huse?<sup>1</sup>

That the name of a country should become the name of a garment is not an unknown semantic evolution, and we can fortunately follow some of the steps of the process in this case. An essential part of mediaeval protective armor was a hood-shaped covering worn under the hood-shaped head-dress of chain-mail, or coiffe.<sup>2</sup> An adoption of the *galerus*, "chapel de cuir,"<sup>3</sup> "chapel de comuns,"<sup>4</sup> peculiar to the dress of the peasant and common soldier since classical times,<sup>5</sup> it was made of felt or of leather, of the kind known from its treatment as "cuir boilli":

Fiert Renoart sor le chapel voltis;  
Bon fu li feutre qui n'est un point malmis;<sup>6</sup>  
En sont chief ot un chapel enformé  
De cuir de Tarce bien bolli et serré;  
Et par desore son vert elme gemé,  
A xxx laz, qui toz sont boutonné.<sup>7</sup>  
Fiert le paien desor l'iaume à esmax;  
Ne lui valut ne coiffe, ne chapiax,<sup>8</sup>  
S'il ne l'eust si bien covert  
D'un fort chapel de cuir boli,  
Qui son cop auques.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F. J. Furnivall, *The Babees Book*, p. 178, l. 909; cf. pp. cvii-cix, cxxxiii. Part II, 69, "I cape for the house."

<sup>2</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, III, 452; add Layamon, III, 267, 475, 505, "burne-hood," *Tristan Sage*, ed. Kolbing, 36, 7, "brynjhatrin."

<sup>3</sup> *Not. et extr.*, XXII, 2, 528; cf. "il estoient armé comme vilain de queries et de capeaus de cuir bouilli;" Artus, ap. Godefroy, II, 397.

<sup>4</sup> *Eberts Jahrb.*, VI, 312. For its further development into the chapel de fer worn by peasants in battle cf. *Rom. de Rou*, III, 7693; *Aiol*, 5896; *Claris*, 22437, and later generally as a light helmet cf. Joinville, *Hist. de S. Louis*, ed. Wailly, 545. Cf. *Prov. chapel*; Bertrand de Born, ed. Stimming, 19, 16; *Guillaume de la Barre*, 931, 947, 1120; also Engl. *palet, sallet, kettle-hat*; *Promptorium Parvulorum*, ed. Way, I, 273; II, 378; *Percy-Folio*, II, 582, 586, 588.

<sup>5</sup> A. Pauly, *Realencyklopaedie*, III, 558; Schiller & Voght, *Die römischen Staats-, Kriegs- und Privatalterthümer*, 2d ed., 463; R. Ellis, *A Bodleian MS of Copa*, etc., 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Aliscans*, 6610; cf. 4567, "Com un chapel de feutre acoveter," and on *acoveter*, G. Paris, *Rom.*, XV, 628; Tobler, *Herrigs Archiv*, CVII, 449; Viollet-le-Duc, V, 250, 259; Schultz, II, 51, fail to cite any evidence to substantiate their statements that this head-dress was made of quilted material. Cf. W. Foerster, *Sone*, 6260.

<sup>7</sup> *Aliscans*, ed. Wienbeck, 76, var. "cuir de gadres." The correction of the reading "tacco" into "tarse" hardly needs comment, but cf. Schultz, I, 340, 349; F. Michel, *Recherches sur les étoffes de soie*, etc., 164, 466; P. Toynbee, *Dante Studies*, 115; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 700.

<sup>8</sup> *Aliscans*, 6494.

<sup>9</sup> *Percival*, ed. Potvin, VI, 252; cf. *Chans. d'Antioche*, I, 197, n.



At a later period this head-dress was known as the *huvette*:

Que heame et coeiffe trenche, et la huvette franche;<sup>1</sup>

a diminutive of the Germanic word OHG *hāba*, ON *hafa*, AS *hufe*;<sup>2</sup> which in its MHG form, *hube*,<sup>3</sup> has the same meaning as the more specific word *batwāt*, which owes its name, "vermutlich, weil man diese haut auch im bade nicht ablegt."<sup>4</sup> The MHG *huot*<sup>5</sup> is also used in the same specific sense as *chapel*; and the derivatives of OF *coiffe*, *coife*, and *gupfe*<sup>6</sup>—underwent a semantic as well as a phonetic change. At a later period the *coiffe* of chain-mail was no longer used to protect the head; reduced in size, and known as the *camail*, it only covered the shoulders and the back of the neck, making one piece with the iron-plate head-dress, known as the *bacinet*.<sup>7</sup> In a French document, contemporaneous with our Gawain poem, mention is made of "un *chaperon* à metre sous mon *bacinet*, de drap, de cendal, ou de satin, cousu et garni de fil de soie;"<sup>8</sup> and the word *how*—of which the etymology is clear—in Gawain Douglas' translation of the *Aeneid*:

Thair haris all war tukkit wp on thar croun,

That baith with how and helm was thristed doun;<sup>9</sup>

seems to have just this special signification. The "cuir bouilli," of which the *chapel* was made, was widely used in the manufacture of various parts of the armor, and of other articles,<sup>10</sup> and was often spoken of as "cuir de Capadoce."<sup>11</sup> One thinks at once of "damask" and "holland," of "satin"<sup>12</sup> and "china," of "port" and

<sup>1</sup> Johan des Preis, *Geste de Liège*, 6133; cf. Froissart, *Chron.*, XI, 158, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove; *Archaeologia*, XXI, 386. For the identity of *chapel* de cuir and *huvette*, cf. *Conquête de Jérusalem*, 2779; *Chevalier au cygne*, ed. Reiffenberg, 22449.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gachet, *Glossaire*, 92, 260, 261; G. Paris, *Rom.*, III, 113; Bugge, *ibid.*, IV, 361.

<sup>3</sup> Herbort v. Fritzlar, *Liet v. Troye*, 10350; Lanz., 4539; *Frauend.*, 529, 1; Schultz, II, 56, only notes its use with the meaning *chapelier*. On this *chapel* de fer, *chapel* d'acier, *chapelier*, cf. Schultz, II, 55; Schirling, 74.

<sup>4</sup> J. Grimm, *Z. f. deutsch. Alt.*, I, 137.

<sup>5</sup> Schultz, II, 50; *Rotandslied*, ed. Bartsch, 8519.

<sup>6</sup> Schultz, II, 51.

<sup>7</sup> Viollet-le-Duc, V, 157 ff., 162-64, 248.

<sup>8</sup> Gay, 99, *sub. ann.* 1386.

<sup>9</sup> *Works of G. Douglas*, ed. Small, II, 257: a translation of *Aen.*, V, 556:

"Omnibus in morem tonsa pressa corona."

<sup>10</sup> Cf., e. g., *Chans. d'Ant.*, IV, 189; Du Cange, VII, 345; *Archaeolog.*, XXVI, 399; Viollet-le-Duc, I, 383; V, 101, 105; VI, 126; Gay, 515, 516.

<sup>11</sup> Gay, 516, cites "cuir de Cahes (Tunisie)" and "à la façon de Tunes," where "cuir bouilli" is meant, but the expression had no further development.

<sup>12</sup> Heyd, *Hist. du Commerce*, II, 701.

"sherry," as instances of the name of a country or city, where an article originated, being given to the article itself;<sup>1</sup> in "ulster" and "arras" we have instances of a further development, in which the name of the material has been given to the article made of it; and to this latter category *capados* belongs. When this head-dress was made of felt, it might still owe its name to the material of which it was made, for in *Girard de Rousillon* we find the hero sitting: "Desobre un feltre obrat de Capadoine,"<sup>2</sup> a form of the word which is due to metrical exigencies, if not the word itself.<sup>3</sup>

The order in which the hero of *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* dons and doffs his armor shows the identity of the *capados* and hood with the *chapel*, and with each other. For the protection of the upper body a hauberk is put on over the doublet:

& syȝen þe brawden bryne of bryȝt stel rynges,  
Vmbe-weued þat wyȝ, vpon wlonk stuffe;<sup>4</sup>

and finally the cote à armer, a surcoat charged with armorial bearings.<sup>5</sup> The author did not have to tell his fourteenth-century readers that the *coiffe* of the hauberk was naturally drawn over the head, on top of the protecting *capados*, and on this *coiffe*—the *auentayle* of the poem<sup>6</sup>—the helmet was placed and fastened with the hourson, or band of embroidered silk:<sup>7</sup>

penne hentes he þe helme, & hastily hit kysses,  
þat watȝ stapled stifly, & stoffed wyth-inne;  
Hit watȝ hyȝe on his hede, hasped bihynde,  
Wyth a lyȝtli vrysoun ouer þe auentayle,  
Enbrawden & bounden wyth þe best gemmeȝ,  
On brode sylkyn borde, & bryddeȝ on semeȝ.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To cite only examples of English and French formations; cf. the numerous instances of formations from Latin adjectives: *dalmatique*, *parchement*, etc., the OF *corduane*, and its derivatives.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. W. Foerster, 1133; ed. Michel, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Michel, *Recherches sur les étoffes*, II, 147.

<sup>4</sup> 580, 581. There is no reason to render "bryne" by "habergeon," as the editor does; cf. Way, *Prompt. Parv.*, I, 220. On the epithet "blans," applied to hauberk, cf. Schirling, 33.

<sup>5</sup> On the cote armour cf. 636, 2028; *N. E. D.*, s. v. "coat-armour"; Schultz, II, 58; Quicherat, 179, 207; Way, *Prompt. Parv.*, I, 95, 124; Du Cange, VII, *Dissert.*, 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup> On a similar use of the word, *Mod. Phil.*, III, 542.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. "garni ledit bacinet, lié, tenant et attaché avec un hourson d'estoffes de bourre, de soye, de cotton;" Lettre de 1386, ap. Godefroy, IV, 498; cf. Du Cange, II, 47; Viollet-le-Duc, V, 12, 112, Pl. 34; 123, Pl. 39; VI, 235, Pl. 9. It is certainly not the merely ornamental *cointise*, as stated by Madden.

<sup>8</sup> 605-10.

Before his first stroke the Green Knight bids Sir Gawain

Haf py helme of py hede, & haf here py pay,<sup>1</sup>

and again, without referring to the coiffe, the author states that Gawain bent his head, showing his bare neck:

He lened with pe nek, & lutte,  
& schewed pat schyre al bare,<sup>2</sup>

although it is only before the second blow that he is bidden to hold his hood in his hand. Both *capados* and *hode* are used indifferently to denote the Old-French *chaperon* and *chapel*, and the further semantic development of *capados* has already been exemplified by citations.<sup>3</sup>

But whence the epithet "king's capados," "pe hyȝe hode, pat Arpur pe raȝt?"<sup>4</sup> The answer to this question is the final step in solving our problem. Fifteen years ago, Gollancz suggested that "the story of Gawain's adventure with the wife of the Green Knight seemed to point unmistakably to King Edward's adventure with the Countess of Salisbury, as told by Froissart. The fact is clear that there is some connection between the romance of Gawain and the romantic origin of the Garter, for at the end of the MS of the romance a somewhat later hand has written the famous legend of the Order,

Hony soit qui mal y penc.

This view is further confirmed by the use made of the same story to account for the origin of the Order of the Bath, in a ballad *rifacimento* of the Green Knight." That a part of these conclusions is a certainty will be evident from what follows.

The earliest records of the beginnings of the Order of the Garter are to be found in the *Wardrobe Accounts* of Edward III, between the twenty-ninth of September, 1348, and the thirty-first of January, 1349. Among other articles made for the king's

<sup>1</sup> 2247.

<sup>2</sup> 2255, 2256.

<sup>3</sup> 2297, cf. 2247 supra.

<sup>4</sup> Miss E. M. Wright in her comment on *capados* notes the Yorkshire and Devonshire dialect word *capadosha* used as adjective and adverb meaning, "excellent, splendid," "in a superior manner, excellently;" adding, "it would be in favour of the theory that *capados* is derived from *Cappadocia*, whence came the beautiful material of which it was made" (*Engl. Stud.*, XXXVI, 210). But is not the dialect word of recent coinage, used with no more reference to its real meaning than the old lady's "blessed word Mesopotamia"? In the seventeenth century a slang word for "prison" was *cappadochio*, *caperdochy*, *caperdevsie*, which has never been satisfactorily explained. Farmer and Henley, *Slang and Its Analogues*, II, 34.

person are noted a mantle, hood, and surcoat, of long blue cloth strewn with garters, "Clamadis supertunice, et capucii pro corpore Regis de panno longo blueto poudrato<sup>1</sup> cum garteriis."<sup>2</sup> It was the custom of the king to distribute robes and habits to members of the royal household,<sup>3</sup> and although the earliest record of such a distribution of the livery of the order is in September, 1351,<sup>4</sup> subsequent entries in the records are frequent.<sup>5</sup> The mantle was not always given by the sovereign, but the material for the surcoat and hood was regularly granted.<sup>6</sup> In the history of the order we find that the material and fashion of these garments constantly changed;<sup>7</sup> those worn in the time of Edward III conform in every way to the details given in *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*. In the earliest records cited above, the surcoat and hood made for the king were of blue cloth; but in 1363 the Sovereign's and Companions' were sanguine in grain:

Militibus de Societate Garterii ad robas sibi contra festum Sancti Georgii de dono domini Regis faciendas et furrandas, et capucias earum liniandas, viz. cuilibet eorum quinque ulnas panni sangueni in grano et unam furruram de CC. ventris miniveri.<sup>8</sup>

The color of the material varied, the *Wardrobe Records* are scanty and fragmentary,<sup>9</sup> and this is the only instance preserved from the reign of Edward III, when it is red, as is the case with Gawain's surcoat:

De gordel of re grene silk, þat gay wel bisemed,  
Vpon þat ryol red cloþe, þat ryche watȝ to schewe.<sup>10</sup>

The same color "sanguine," appears in the *Wardrobe Records* for 13 Richard II,<sup>11</sup> and scarlet appears in the 21<sup>12</sup> and 22<sup>13</sup> Richard

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Du Cange, s. v.; W. Gregor, *Poems of Dunbar*, III, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Harris Nicholas, *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, I, 12; II, 339, App., vi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, App., vi, vii, xvi, xvii, lii\*-liiii\*. On custom cf. Schultz, I, 186, n. 3, 318; Way, *Prompt. parv.*, I, 87, 308; Du Cange, VII, 347, 357.

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas, I, 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, App., xvii ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 339.

<sup>7</sup> If not yearly, as stated by Ashmole, *Institutions, Laws and Ceremonies, of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, 1715, 180.

<sup>8</sup> Nicholas, II, 347; Ashmole, 160-161.

<sup>9</sup> Nicholas, *Archaeologia*, XXXI, 134 ff. Perhaps it is not too bold to conjecture that in 1351 the Companions' robes, of which the material is not noted in the accounts (Anstis, *Register of the Garter*, I, 105), were of red velvet as those of the king (*Arch.*, XXXI, 136; cf. 163).

<sup>10</sup> 2035, 2036.

<sup>11</sup> Anstis, I, 6, n. d.; Ashmole, 164; Nicholas, II, 344, notes 7 and 8.

<sup>12</sup> A dubious instance, Nicholas, II, 344, n. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Anstis, I, 13, n. f.; Nicholas, II, 344, n. 7.

II, but in these instances the hood was lined with cloth of a different color, and with fur, as was the case in the earlier record,<sup>1</sup> and in *Sir Gawayne*. If in the poem the knight's surcoat and hood are lined with ermine "blanner,"<sup>2</sup> instead of miniver "pured gris," "gris and gray,"<sup>3</sup> as in the *Wardrobe Records*, where only royal garments are purfled with ermine, it must be noted that only the richer fur is mentioned in *Sir Gawayne*.<sup>4</sup>

There was good reason why the hood of the Garter in the time of Edward III should be lined with fur, like that of Gawain; as it was the very year of the founding of the Order that a chronicler notes among the spoils of the French campaign, dispersed through the land, "vestes, furruras,"<sup>5</sup> while in 1362 the king thought it necessary to pass a sumptuary law forbidding the wearing of furs, except by the very wealthy of the nobility.<sup>6</sup> And does the author compare the Green Knight's hair and beard to the "king's capados" to distinguish it from the small, effeminate hoods, against which some of the chronicles of that time cry out?<sup>7</sup> It is to be noted that, like the "capidocis" in the Aberdeen records, the hood of the Garter at a later period was made of velvet.<sup>8</sup>

I hope I have shown the meaning of *capados* and its derivation, to discard without comment the potential French "cap-à-dos,"

<sup>1</sup> A notable exception to this rule is 34 Ed. II, when the surcoats were black, and the hoods lined with scarlet cloth; Anstis, I, 42, n.; II, 50; Ashmole, 167; Nicholas, II, 344, n. 8., 347.

<sup>2</sup> Kaluza's correct explanation of *blanner* as "white-black." i. e., ermine (*Libeaus Desconus*, 136, 137) is confirmed by Du Cange, who notes that the nature of the fur "a donné sujet aux hérauds de blazonner l'hermine d'un seul nom, sans exprimer le blanc et le noir" (*Glossarium*, VII; *Dissertationes sur l'histoire de St. Louis*, 3); cf. *Queen Elizabeth's Achademy*, ciii, 100; *N. E. D.*, s. v. "ermine," 2 and 4. Cf. "Das Hermelin . . . hat seinen Namen, OHG harmo . . . augenscheinlich von der Farbe seines Winterfells erhalten und heisst der 'Bereifte, Schneeweisse,'" L. Laistner, *Germ.*, XXXI, 426.

<sup>3</sup> Anstis, II, 50, 53; Nicholas, II, 344; cf. 37 Ed. III, c. 12, where privileged nobility "usent a lour volenté forspris ermynes," etc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 155, 573, 856, 1931. The "pane," "pane of bryzt blaunnier" (154, 855, 856) is not "cloth" in either case, or "counterpane" in the second instance, as the *N. E. D.* would have it, but "furs" in the general sense, to be entered under pane. Cf. Schultz, I, 357; Way, *Prompt. Parv.*, 381; Du Cange, *Diss.* 3; *Eberts Jahrb.*, VI.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronicon Angliae*, ed. E. M. Thompson, 261; cf. xxxiv.

<sup>6</sup> 37 Ed. III, ch. 10-12. Cf. *Chron. Angl.*, 53, "ut nulli pannis pretiosis aut pellura nterentur."

<sup>7</sup> *Eulogium Historiarum* (1362), III, 230; cf. xlii. "Habent etiam capucia parva sub mento stricta modo mulierum." Cf. Knighton, *Chron.*, II, 57-59.

<sup>8</sup> Nicholas, II, 347.

invented by Madden,<sup>1</sup> the allusions in the poem to the Order of the Garter, and the other evidence which I have pointed out confirm the generally accepted date<sup>2</sup> of the last half of the fourteenth century, or more precisely between the foundation of the Order of the Garter, and the death of Edward III (1348-77). Gollancz's primary suggestion of a connection between the adventures of Gawain with the wife of the Green Knight, and Edward's wooing of the Countess of Salisbury, as told by Froissart,<sup>3</sup> does not bear close scrutiny. The episode in the poem is a "test" story<sup>4</sup> in which the woman makes all the advances; in the chronicle the rebuke the king received from the countess, whose virtue he assails, is the main point in the story,<sup>5</sup> that which appealed to the popular fancy, and found expression in ballad,<sup>6</sup> story,<sup>7</sup> and play.<sup>8</sup> Although it may well be that this story, and Froissart's further account<sup>9</sup> of the jousts instituted by the king in honor of the countess in 1342, may have been the source of the traditional account, explaining the name and origin of the order, with which she was first connected in the *Historia Anglica* of Polydore Virgil, which appeared 150 years after the founding of the order.<sup>10</sup>

The author of the *Green Knight* has, in the main, followed his French source, an episodic poem;<sup>11</sup> he was too much of an

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bradley's citation of an OF *ombrière*, a word which has never been glossed, as the source of the ME *umbrere*; Bradley-Stratmann, *Middle-English Dictionary*, 708.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. H. Billings, *A Guide to the English Metrical Romances*, 166, for bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> *Chron.*, II, 59; III, 455, 467; IV, 122; XXIII, 101; cf. G. Liebau, *König Edward III von England und die Gräfin von Salisbury*, 8-17.

<sup>4</sup> I. e., of chastity. The third blow that "seuered þe hyde" is like the mantle on Craddocke's lady: "Vpp att her great toe/itt began to crinkle and crowt" (Child's *Ballads*, I, 273; cf. 280, n.), and in both cases confession redeems the minor fault. Compare, also, the first failure of Gawain to don the "test" glove in Heinrich von dem Turlin's *Crône*, Child, *ibid.*, 266, note. The indebtedness of this episode to the adventure of Gawain with the sister of Guigambrésil in Chrétien's *Perceval* is not apparent; cf. G. Paris, *Rom.*, XII, 378; J. Weston, *Legend of Sir Gawain*, 96.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Liebau, 128.

<sup>6</sup> Liebau, 116, 129, 130; cf. 131, 136.

<sup>7</sup> Liebau, 26-58, 75-92, 131, 137; *Herrigs Archiv*, CVIII, 134-36, 138; Bolte, *Z. f. vergl. Lit.*, N. F., II, 369.

<sup>8</sup> Liebau, 68-75, 92-116, 121-25, 137, 144 ff.; *Herrigs Archiv*, CVIII, 136-38; Bolte, *l. c.* Liebau, *König Edward von England im Lichte europäischer Poesie*, 28-35.

<sup>9</sup> *Chron.*, II, 121.

<sup>10</sup> Nicholas, I, 17, 18; Libeau, 21-25.

<sup>11</sup> G. Paris, *Rom.*, XII, 379; *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 78, 72; Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 283 ff.

artist to change the traditional "gordel" of protection<sup>1</sup> into the garter of the order. The allusions in his detailed descriptions of Gawayn's attire would be evident in the court circle, of which he was clearly a member. How superior to the procedure of the contemporary author of *Winnere and Wastoure*, whose intention is all too apparent, in his double use of the "gartare of Ynde," and his translation of the motto, "Hetyng haue the hathell at any harme thynkes."<sup>2</sup> In the same way the ballad of the *Green Knight*,<sup>3</sup> whether it had its source in the Middle-English poem or in an independent version, is bare of all detail; the fanciful allusions have become a deliberate explanation of a custom of the Order of the Bath; the "Gordel of pe grene silke"—symbolical token of magical powers<sup>4</sup>—has become the white silk lace, one of the insignia of a carpet knight.

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<sup>1</sup> Originally a shirt; cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Myth.*, 3d ed., 1052; Uhland, *Schriften*, I, 183; II, 61; VII, 307; F. Settegast, *Quellenstudien zur galloroman. Epik.*, 68; Jones and Kropf, *Folk-Tales of Magyars*, 353; Weston, *Leg. of S. Gaw.*, 100; Zimmer, *Z. f. d. Altth.*, XXXII, 319, 321 ff., 465. On protective rings and stones, cf. Child, *Ballads*, I, 189, 190, 201, note; II, 61, 318; V, 183, 287; K. Smith, *Amer. Journ. of Phil.*, XXIII, 268, 269, note; A. L. C. Brown, *Iwain*, 128.

<sup>2</sup> W. and W. in *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ed. Gollancz, 1897 (Roxburghe Club), W. and W., 62, 94. On the proverbial use of the motto prior to Edward III, G. Liebau, *Herrigs Archiv*, CVIII, 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Percy-Folio*, II, 56.

<sup>4</sup> On green as the color of the clothes of unearthly beings, cf. F. Liebrecht, *Gervasius von Tilbury*, 121, 177; J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2d ed., II, 78; *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 138. On the green cloak of the giant in the Irish analogue, *Fled Bricrend*, cf. Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1900, 383, 384; without accepting the conclusion that the description of the giant is modeled on that of a Norseman, *ibid.*, 386, 387.



## THE FORMATION OF COMPOUND WORDS IN GOTHIC

In his *Gotisches Elementarbuch*, § 233, and in his *Urgermanische Grammatik*, § 145, Streitberg expresses the belief that the connecting vowel in compound words in Gothic tends to remain after a short-stem syllable, but disappears after a long syllable or trisyllable. This applies to the *a-*, *ja-*, *wa-*, *i-*, and *u-*stems. The *ja-*stems show the retention of *ja-* after a short syllable and a reduction to *i-* after a long syllable. For example, *wadja-bōkōs*, but *arbi-numja*. The *n-*stems are formed after the analogy of the *a-*stems.

The following compounds conform to the explanation of Streitberg:<sup>1</sup>

### SHORT-SYLLABLE *a*-STEMS

*aihwa-tundi*, *ala-brunsts*, *ala-mans*, *ala-parbs*, *ala-swērei*, *baira-bagms*, *daura-wards*, *dwala-waurdei*, *fruma-baur*, *guda-faurhts*, *guda-laush*, *guda-skaunei*, *kuna-wida*, *laþa-leikō*, *muka-mōdei* (?), *þrasa-balþei*, *un-tila-malsks*, *waira-leikō*, *wiga-deina*.

### LONG-SYLLABLE *a*-STEMS

*ain-falþs*, *ain-hwarþaruh*, *ain-hwarjizuh*, *ain-lif*, *all-andjō*, *all-brunsts*, *all-waldans*, *anþar-leikō*, *hals-agga*, *haubþ-wunda*, *hauh-hairtō*, *hauh-þūhts*, *laus-handus*, *laus-qīþrs*, *manag-falþs*, *mikil-þūhts*, *þiup-spillōn*, *ubil-tōjis*, *ubil-waurds*, *wein-drugkja*.

### *wa*-STEM

*balwa-wēsei*.

### SHORT-SYLLABLE *ja*-STEMS

*alja-leikōs*, *alja-kuns*, *frapja-marzeins*, *lubja-leis*, *midja-sweipains*, *wadja-bōkōs*.

### LONG-SYLLABLE *ja*-STEMS

*aglaiti-waurdei*, *andi-laush*, *arbi-numja*, *frei-hals*, *winþi-skaurō*.

<sup>1</sup>The words given in this article comprise all compounds except those made up of a late foreign word in one or both parts of the compound. In cases where there are two words made up of the same compounds, e. g., *ain-falþs* and *ain-falþaba*, only one is given unless the corresponding Greek form for the one is materially different from that of the other.

All compounds of *ō*-stems have a long syllable in the first part of the compound. According to Streitberg, the connecting vowel *a-* is a shortening of the stem vowel after the long syllable. The following few words are found:

*ō*-STEMS

*airpa-kunþs, hleipra-stakeins, hweila-hwairbs, mōta-staps.*

*jō*-STEM

*þusundi-faps.*

*wō*-STEM

*friapwa-milds.*

*i*-STEMS

*brūþ-faps, mati-balgs.*

*u*-STEMS

*faihu-friks, faihu-gawaurkei, faihu-geigō, faihu-gairns, faihu-praihns, faihu-skula, filu-deisei, filu-faihs, filu-galaubs, filu-waurdei, qīþu-hafts.*

In the *n*-stems the connecting vowel is always *a-* except in the case of *man-leika* which, representing an I.E. \**monn-*, would be a regular traditional form like *þrūts-fill*. The *s*-stems have no connecting vowel. Of *r*-stems there are only two compounds, *brōþra-lubō* (Cod. A) and *brōþru-lubō* (Cod. B).

Opposed to the forty *a*-stems given above there is about the same number of *a*-stems which are not explained by Streitberg's theory; that is, they are words which, although having the long syllable, still retain the connecting vowel. Of the *i*- and the *u*-stems there is likewise a large number of words which do not conform to this explanation. How are we to account for this? Mr. F. A. Wood suggests in explanation of these words the following theory, which I have submitted to a test:

Compound words in Gothic are of two kinds, traditional and new compounds. Streitberg's theory is correct as regards the traditional compounds. But there is a large number of words which were made by the Gothic translator himself, in order to translate adequately the Greek or Latin text. For instance, to translate such a word as *ψευδολόγων*, I Tim. 4:2, he wrote *liugna-waurdē*, an exact correspondence in the parts of the compound;

or for *άλύσσειν*, Luke 8:29, *eisarna-bandjōm*, which, while not corresponding in structure, may easily have been a new compound. Or, to take the two compounds *laus-qīþrs* and *lausawaurdi*: the first may well have been a traditional compound, *laus-qīþrans*, Mark 8:3, translating the Greek *νήπεις*; the second, a new compound, *lausawaurdja* translating the Greek *κενοφονίας*. In forming new compounds the translator would follow the analogy of existing compounds, but without any feeling for traditional differences. If the first part of the compound was an *a*-stem, he would naturally make *a*- the connecting vowel, regardless of the length of the preceding syllable. Irregularities and confusion of stems, then, are probable in *þiubi-qissais*, *εὐλογίας*, I Cor. 10:16, stem *þiuba*-; *garda-waldans*, *οἰκοδεσπότης*, *miþ-garda-waddjus*, *μεσστοιχον*, stem *gardi*-. Irregularities in the same words are sometimes found: *andi-lauss*, *ἀπέραντος*, I Tim. 1:4 (Cod. A), but *anda-lauss* (Cod. B), stem *andja*-; or *brōþra-lubōn*, *φιλαδελφία*, Rom. 12:10 (Cod. A), and *brōþrulubōn*, *φιλαδελφίας*, I Thess. 4:9 (Cod. B).

The following full list of long-syllable and trisyllable words, unexplained by Streitberg, may by comparison with the Greek or Latin forms be seen to have been new compounds: *aina-baura*, Lat. *unigenito*, Skeir. V, d; *aina-mundiþa*, *ἐνότητα*, Eph. 4:3; *aiza-smiþa*, *χαλκός*, II Tim. 4:14; *akrana-lauss*, *ἄκαρπος*, Mark 4:19; *alla-waurstiwans*, *πεπληροφορεμένος*, Col. 4:12; *arma-hairtai*, Lat. *miseriordes*, Eph. 4:32; *arma-hairtei* (*ἔλεος*), Lat. *miseriordia*, Luke 1:50; *blōþa-rinnandei*, *αἰμορροῦσα*, Matt. 9:20; *dulga-hailjin*, *χρεωφειλέται*, Luke 7:41; *eisarna-bandjōm*, *άλύσσειν*, Luke 8:29; *figgra-gulþ*, *δακτύλιον*, Luke 15:22; *fulla-fahjan*, *ἰκανὸν ποιῆσαι*, Mark 15:15; *fulla-tōjai*, *τέλειοι*, Matt. 5:48; *fulla-weisai*, *τέλειοι*, I Cor. 14:20; *fulla-witans*, *τέλειοι*, Phil. 3:15; *gilstra-mēleins*, *ἀπογραφή*, Luke 2:2; *gōda-kunds*, *εὐγενής*, Luke 19:12; *grinda-fraþjans*, *ὀλιγοψύχους*, I Thess. 5:14; *heiwa-fraujin*, *οἰκοδεσπότης*, Mark 14:14; *himina-kundis*, *οὐρανόυ*, Luke 2:13; *huns-la-stada*, *θυσιαστήριον*, Matt. 5:23; *ibna-leika*, Lat., *parem*, Skeir. V d.; *ibna-skaunjamma*, *σύμμορφον*, Phil. 3:21; *jugga-laups*, *νεανίσκος*, Mark 14:51; *lagga-mōdein*,

μακροθυμία, Rom. 9:22; *lausa-waurdein*, ματαιολογίαν, I Tim. 1:6; *lausa-waurdja*, κενοφωνίας, II Tim. 2:16; *liuba-leik*, προσφιλῇ, Phil. 4:8; *galiuga-brōþrum*, ψευδαδέλφοις, II Cor. 11:26; *galiuga-gudam*, εἰδωλόθυστα, I Cor. 8:10; *galiuga-weitwōds*, ψευδομάρτυρες, I Cor. 15:15; *liugna-waurdē*, ψευδολόγων, I Tim. 4:2; *swulta-wairþjawas*, ἤμελλεν τελευτᾶν, Luke 7:2; *waurda-jiukōs*, λογομαχίας, I Tim. 6:4; *witōda-fastjōs*, νομικοί, Luke 7:30; *witōda-laisarjōs*, νομοδιδάσκαλοι, Luke 5:17; *witōda-lausam*, ἀνόμοις, I Cor. 9:21.

#### ja-STEMS

*hraiŋja-hairtans*, καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, Matt. 5:8; *niŋja-satidana*, νεόφυτον, I Tim. 3:6.

#### i-STEMS

*gabaurþi-waurdē*, γενεαλογίας, I Tim. 1:4; *undaurni-mat*, ἄριστον, Luke 14:12; *frasti-sibja*, νίοθεσία, Rom. 9:4; *gasti-gōds*, φιλόξενον, I Tim. 3:2; *gasti-gōdein*, φιλοξενίαν, Rom. 12:13; *naudi-bandjōm eisarneinaim*, ἀλύσει, Mark 5:3; *naudi-þaurft*, ἀναγκαῖον, II Cor. 9:5.

#### u-STEMS

*asilu-qairns*, μῦλος ὄνικος, Mark 9:42; *fōtu-baurd*, ὑποπόδιον, Matt. 5:35; *fōtu-bandjōm*, πέδαις, Luke 8:29; *grundu-waddju*, θεμέλιον, Luke 6:48; *handu-waurhtōn*, χειροποίητον, Mark 14:58; *hardu-hairtein*, σκληροκαρδίαν, Mark 10:5; *lustu-sama*, ἐπιπόθητοι, Phil. 4:1.

Then there are long-syllable words which, while not so directly suggested by the Greek as these above, may, nevertheless, be new compounds.

#### a-STEMS

*anstai auda-hafts*, κεχαριτωμένη, Luke 1:28; *fulla-fraþjan*, σοφρυνεῖν, II Cor. 5:13; *launa-wargōs*, ἀχάριστοι, II Tim. 3:2; *silda-leik*, θάμβος, Luke 5:9; *silda-leiks*, θαναμαστή, Mark 12:11; *skauda-raip skōhē*, ἰμάντα ὑποδημάτων, Mark 1:7; *weina-basja*, σταφυλᾶς, Matt. 7:16; *weina-gard*, ἀμπελῶνα, Mark 12:1; *weina-tains*, κλήμα, John 15:4; *weina-triu*, ἄμπελος, John 15:1.

#### wa-STEM

*hraiwa-dūbōnō*, τρυγόνων, Luke 2:24.

## i-STEMS

*aurti-gards*, κήπος, John 18:1; *drauhti-witōþ*, στρατείαν, I Tim. 1:18.

Not all words which conform to Streitberg's explanation are traditional compounds, however.<sup>1</sup> There are new compounds formed with short syllables in the first part of the compound which have a connecting vowel and, on the other hand, there are new compounds containing a long syllable with syncopation, as seen by the examples which follow.

SHORT-SYLLABLE *a*-STEMS

*ala-brunstein*, ὀλοκαντωμάτων, Mark 12:33; *ala-waldans*, παντοκράτωρ, II Cor. 6:18; *aura-wards*, θυρωρός, John 10:3; *dwalawaurdei*, μωρολογία, Eph. 5:4; *fruma-baur*, πρωτότοκον, Lat. *primo-genitum*, Luke 2:7; *guda-faurhts*, εὐλαβής, Luke 2:25; *guda-lausai*, ἄθροι, Eph. 2:12; *in guda-skaunein*, ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ, Phil. 2:6; *waira-leikō taujaib*, ἀνδρίζεσθε, I Cor. 16:13.

We may put here also three short-syllable stems with syncopation which may well be new compounds:

*in gud-hūsa*, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, John 18:20; *guþ-blōstreis*, θεοσεβής, John 9:31, stem *guda-*; *put-haurna*, σάλπιγγι, I Cor. 15:52, stem *puta-*(?).

LONG-SYLLABLE *a*-STEMS

*all-andjō*, ὀλοτελείς, I Thess. 5:23; *manag-falþ*, πολλαπλασίονα, Luke 18:30; *ubil-tōjis*, κακοποιός, John 18:30; *wein-drugkja*, οἰνοπότης, Luke 7:34.

There are other possible explanations for this last word. It may have been a very early formation and then have lost its connecting vowel phonetically after the long syllable. It would thus conform to Streitberg's explanation. Then, too, it may have been formed after such a construction as *wein drigkan*, which explanation has also been given for *guþ-blōstreis*, i. e., from *guþ blōtan*. On the explanation of *aglait-gastaldans*, αἰσχροκερδεῖς, I Tim. 3:8, stem \**aglaita-*, see Leo Meyer, *Die Gotische Sprache*, §§ 93, 359. This may, however, easily be a new formation.

<sup>1</sup> See first list of words.

*ja*-STEMS

*alja-kunja*, ἀλλογενής, Luke 17:18; *aglaiti-waurdein*, αἰσχρολογίαν, Col. 3:8.

The *ō*-stems are probably all new compounds.

*airba-kundana*, Lat. *terrestrem*, Skeir. IV, c; *hleipra-stakeins*, σκηνοπηγία, John 7:2; *hweila-hwairbai*, πρόσκαιροι, Mark 4:17; *mōta-stada*, τελώνιον, Luke 5:27.

*jō*-STEM

*pusundi-fadim*, χιλιάρχους, Mark 6:21.

*wō*-STEM

*friarwa-mildai*, φιλόστοργοι, Rom. 12:10.

*u*-STEMS

*ni faihu-friks*, ἀφιλάργυρον, I Tim. 3:3; *faihu-gairnai*, φιλάργυροι, II Tim. 3:2; *faihu-gairneins*, αἰσχροῦ κέρδους, Tit. 1:11; *flu-galaubis*, πολυτίμου, John 12:3; *flu-waurdein*, πολυλογία, Matt. 6:7,

The above examples show us that for the new compounds (1) the *a*-stems will generally have *a*- as connecting vowel, though there are instances where it is left out altogether after both long and short syllables; (2) the *ō*-stems may take their connecting vowel analogically from the *a*-stems; (3) the *u*-stems regularly follow the traditional forms.

There are a few compounds which we cannot classify under any of the above heads. *midjun-gard* must have been a traditional compound; cf. OE *middan-geard*, OHG *mittin-gart*, which point to an *n*-stem formation. But *piu-magus*, παῖς, Matt. 8:6, stem *piwa*-; *niu-klahein*, Lat. *pusillanimitatem*, Skeir. VII, a; *niu-klahaim*, νηπίους, Luke 10:21, may well be new formations and as such very likely went after the analogy of the *u*-stems. For the form *niu*-, which cannot be directly connected with the adjective-stem *niuja*-, suggests a stem *niwa*-. The nominative of this would be \**nius*, whence *niu*- in compounds, corresponding to *handus*, *handu*-.

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## WHAT IF A DAY

The publication of the *Shirburn Ballads* has brought us another proof of the popularity of this song. The form in which it occurs in that collection (No. LIX) calls for no special remark: with here and there a scribal difference, it is the same as No. XII of my paper (*Modern Philology*, IV, 3), that is to say the version of the *Roxburgh Ballads*. The song is headed by an editor's note, which winds up as follows: "The verses are found also in a Bodleian MS, MS Rawlinson poet. 112, fol. 9, and are there attributed to 'E. of E.?' Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex." The summary catalogue of this MS says: "foll. 9, 10, 11, 'Verses or English poemes written by the Lo: the E[arl] of E[ssex], beginning 'There was a time when seely bees could speake,' and (on 'The fickle state of our uncertayn life') 'What if a day.'" It would seem that Mr. Clark has relied on this remark. At least the librarian informs me that "the poem is on f. 10<sup>v</sup> and f. 11; is not headed by any attribution, and that the verses attributed to the E. of E. are on f. 9 and in a different hand." The earl of Essex lived from 1567-1601 so that, even if the note also referred to "What if a Day," "written by the E. of E." can only mean "copied by the E. of E.," or else must be considered as a faulty statement, as the same reason that prevents us from considering Campion as the author also prevents us from considering the earl of Essex as such.

In itself the version is a very interesting one. It will be seen at a glance that it differs from all others in counting four stanzas; all other versions have two, three, five or more.

Stanza i belongs to the group beginning "What if a day, a month or a year," and to that having in the fifth line "Fortune, honour, beauty, youth." It agrees closely with the version in Farr's *Select Poetry* (No. XI of my paper), as does stanza ii. So far there is nothing striking; Stanza iii, however, also agrees with the version in Farr's *Select Poetry*, and occurs nowhere else, while



Stanza iv is like the third stanza in *Rich. Wigley's Commonplace Book*, only differing slightly in the last lines. To recapitulate: our version is, leaving out of account a few minor variants, identical with Farr's version (which itself differs from all others in bringing a new third stanza), but adds a fourth stanza which up to now has only been found in *Rich. Wigley's Commonplace Book*.

Evidently there is a parody on "What if a Day" in "A Droll," printed on p. 41 of *Merry Drollery, Complete*, edited by T. Woodfall Ebsworth, 1875. Its closing lines are:

Let us sing, let us laugh;  
Let us drink, let us quaff;  
See the world is sliding,  
Here is no abiding,  
Our life's but a Hollyday.

GRONINGEN

A. E. H. SWAEN

(f. 10b)

THE FICKLE ESTATE OF OUR  
VNCERTAYN LYFE TO A  
PLEASAUNT NEW TUNE.

What if a day or A moneth or a yeare  
Crowne thy delightes  
with a thousand wisht contentinges?  
May not the chaunce of A night or an houre  
Crosse those delightes,  
With as many sad tormentinges?  
Ffortune, honor, beuty, youth,  
Are but blossomes dying:  
Wanton pleasures doteing love,  
Are but shadowes flying,  
All our ioyes are but toyes  
Idle thoughtes deceyueing,  
None haue powre in an houre  
Of our lyves bereaueing.

The earth is but A poynt of ye world, & A man  
Is but a poynte  
Of the earthes<sup>1</sup> compared Center  
Shall then a poynt of A poynt be soe vayne

<sup>1</sup>res. Blot in MS.

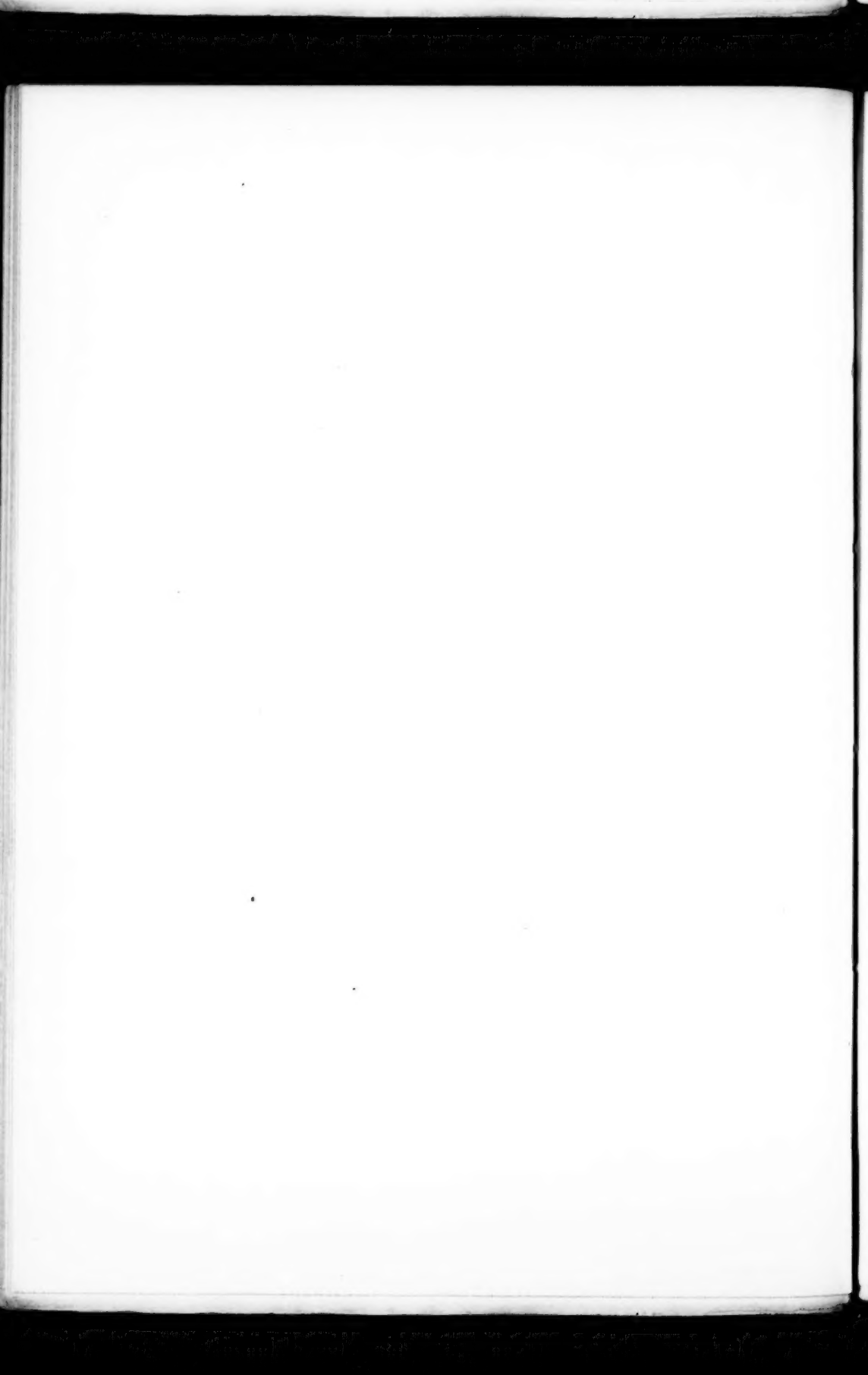
As to triumph  
 In a<sup>1</sup> seely pointes Adventure.  
 All is hazard that we haue,  
 There is nothing bydeing:  
 Dayes of pleasures are but streames,  
 Through fayre meddowes glideinge.  
 Weale or woe time doth goe  
 In tyme ther's noe returninge,  
 Secret fates guyde our states  
 Both in mirth and mourninge.

(f. 11)

What shall A man desyre in this worlde  
 Seing ther's naught,  
 In this world, that is worth desyreing!  
 Let not a man cast his eyes to the earth,  
 But to the heavens  
 With his thoughtes high aspyring.  
 Thinke that liveing thou must dye,  
 Be assured thy dayes be told:  
 Though on earth thou seemest to bee  
 Assure thy self thou art but molde.  
 All our wealth bringes noe health,  
 But returnes from whome it came;  
 Soe shall we all agree,  
 If we be the very same.

Goe seely note to ye eares of my deare,  
 Make thy self blest  
 And in swetest passions languish.  
 Lay thee to sleepe on the brest of her harte  
 Giue her delight,  
 Though thy self be made of Anguish.  
 There where thou arte then speake of mee  
 That from thence am banisht:  
 Saye that once I had content,  
 Though that it be vanisht.  
 Yet when tyme doth runne backe,  
 And tyme passed doth renne;  
 She shall cease to be fayre  
 And I will liue to be true.

*Finis*<sup>1</sup> Canceled in MS.



## THE BANISHED WIFE'S LAMENT

The company of ladies in Anglo-Saxon poetry is not a large one. If Judith, Elene, and other heroines from foreign lands are left out of consideration, their number is small indeed. This is of course due in large measure to the fact that a relatively small amount of poetry based upon Germanic themes has been preserved. If woman plays a minor part in *Beowulf*, one of the *Waldhere* fragments gives a hint that the case may have been otherwise in some of the epic material that has perished. It is doubtful if the dramatic intensity of such figures as Brunnhild or Gudrun in the poetic *Edda* would have been paralleled in the less impassioned West Germanic verse, but it seems likely that the emotions of women would have interested poets who could depict so graphically the feelings of men like the Wanderer or the Seafarer. And there are, as is well known, illustrations of this interest in the woman's point of view in the Anglo-Saxon lyrics. The most conspicuous of these illustrations is the poem generally known as the *Banished Wife's Lament*.<sup>1</sup> Here the whole emphasis is thrown upon the element of love. Oppressed by profound grief, the wife briefly reviews her unhappy career, bewails her present desolate situation, and ends with a cry of despair surprisingly modern in its intensity.

The piece is an unusually significant one. Its sustained passion, its well-rounded form, and its vivid portrayal of a dramatic situation give it an important place in Anglo-Saxon poetry. Like so much of the minor verse, however, it is far from being easy of comprehension. There is much in the language which offers difficulty, and the larger questions of the interpretation of the whole, and its possible connection with incidents of heroic saga, are not easily disposed of. The lady has succeeded in throwing over her tale something of the obscurity of her gloomy abode in the forest. As to her present unhappy condition there can be no doubt, but her lamentations give no very clear idea of the series of

<sup>1</sup>Or *Complaint*. Grein-Wülker, "Klage der Frau," *Bibliothek der aeg. Poesie*, Vol. I, pp. 302 ff.

distressful strokes in her past history. There is, then, in addition to the literary merit of the piece, all the fascination of a problem, or a series of problems, and scholars have not failed to attack these with energy and patience. But the results of these investigations have often been radically dissimilar. Indeed, a review of critical opinion from the beginning shows a considerable lack of unanimity all along the line, and confirms the impression that the last word about the poem has not yet been spoken.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of the following notes is to call attention to the translation of certain passages which appear to have been generally misunderstood, and to consider the probable explanation of the whole situation, which is only vaguely outlined in the poem. For the sake of brevity, detailed references to the work of previous investigators have generally been omitted, excepting where a special examination of their theories seems profitable.

Our first duty appears to be the rehabilitation of the character of the husband of the unfortunate lady. True, she says that he has banished her into the woods, but this is a matter in which she may have been deceived, as we shall see. It is more important to look at the passage following, in which she is held to accuse him of treacherously masking murderous thoughts under the pretense of friendliness—as Trautmann puts it—"die verse . . . in denen die frau bejammert einen seine gedanken verhehlenden und auf mord sinnenden gemahl gefunden zu haben."<sup>2</sup>

- Forþon is mīn hyge gēomor,  
ðā ic mē ful gemæene monnan funde,  
heardsæligne, hygegeōmorne,  
20 mōd mīrendne, morþor hycgend(n)e,  
blipe gebæro. Ful oft wit bēotedan  
ræt unc ne gedælde nemne dēað āna  
ōwiht elles; eft is ræt onhworfen!  
is nū swā hit nō wære,  
25 frēondscipe uncer.<sup>3</sup>

Do not the characteristics set forth in ll. 19-21 explain the

<sup>1</sup> For a review of critical opinion, see Walker, *Grundriss der ags. Litteratur*, pp. 224-26; Schücking, *Zeitschrift f. deutsches Alterthum*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 436 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia*, Vol. XVI, p. 223. Miss Edith Rickert, *Modern Philology*, Vol. II, p. 368, n. 4, gives a similar meaning to the passage. See also Roeder, *loc. cit.*, below.

<sup>3</sup> The text is that of the Grein-Walker *Bibliothek*, with the addition of the vowel-quantities, and some changes in punctuation.

phrase *ful gemæcne*? And are they not virtues, at least according to Anglo-Saxon conceptions, and not the reverse? The correct translation would, I believe, run something as follows: "And so my heart is sad, since I (had) found a man well suited to me, one who had experienced misfortune, serious-minded, concealing his feelings, mindful of death, of pleasant demeanor." The husband was congenial in the first place, because he had, like her, known misfortune. Trouble has been her companion since her youth (ll. 2-4), and the man who also had known the uses of adversity might well be in sympathy with her. The adjective *hygegēomor* seems to describe the effect of misfortune upon the character of the man—"sad (or, more probably, *serious*) of thought."

This word *hygegēomor*, as well as the rest of the passage, can perhaps best be explained in connection with ll. 42-45.

Ā scyle geong mon wesan gēomormōd,  
heard heortan gēoht, swylce habban sceal  
bliþe gebæro, ēac þon brēostceare,  
sinsorgna gedrēag.

Leaving the interpretation of ll. 17-21 for a moment, let us consider the meaning of this section of the poem. Here, too, I believe that critics have been astray. Roeder,<sup>1</sup> for example, understands this and what follows as a series of imprecations; here "ruft die Frau Verwünschungen herab" upon a nameless young man who is involved in an intrigue which has caused the separation of husband and wife. There appears to be no reason for introducing a third person into the story. The main thing to notice at present is that the lines are only a series of reflections of a general character—one of those moralizing incursions into poetry of which the Anglo-Saxons were so fond. "Ever ought a young man to be serious of mind, steadfast the thoughts of his heart, (he should have) a pleasant demeanor as well, also care, the weight of constant anxiety." This train of thought, although beginning in the conventional, abstract manner, is obviously suggested by the man whom the lady has ever in mind, the man of whom she speaks openly again in ll. 47b ff., her husband.

<sup>1</sup> For Roeder's interesting and ingenious, though unconvincing interpretation, see his monograph, "Die Familie bei den Angelsachsen," in Morsbach's *Studien zur engl. Philologie*, No. 4, pp. 112-19.

It is unnecessary to emphasize the fact that Anglo-Saxon poets frequently turn aside from the matter in hand, both in the epic and the lyric, to introduce moral reflections suggested by the situation. The Wanderer forgets his personal misfortunes for a time, and reviews at some length the characteristics which should distinguish a prudent man.<sup>1</sup> The *Seafarer* affords a curious parallel, in a didactic passage,<sup>2</sup> to the use of the two forms *seal* and *scyle* in the lines above. In Old Norse the passion for pointing a moral is fully as strong. In the *Sigrdrifumöl*, for instance, Sigrdrifa (Brunnhild), after having been awakened by Sigurd on the fire-encircled mountain, proceeds to reward the hero with a series of moral precepts. In the *Hvǫmöl* this material constitutes the chief interest. The considerable amount of gnomic verse in Anglo-Saxon affords many parallels to the passage under discussion. Consider the word *gēomormōd*. One virtue frequently emphasized was a proper realization of the serious future. A young man ought to have his mind on other than trivial subjects. The wise father instructs his son:

Seldan snottor guma sorglēas blissað,  
 swylce dol seldon drýmeð sorgful  
 ymb his forðgesceaft, nefne hē fæhpe wite.<sup>3</sup>

The upshot of this clearly is that the wise man seldom gives himself up to unrestrained joy—it is not well to be *sorglēas*, constant seriousness is desirable; while the foolish man is seldom plunged into gloomy thoughts about the future, unless he is in some present trouble. The condition of the world, the transitory character of human things, dwelt upon by the Wanderer and the Seafarer, go to make a man's disposition sober.

For þon ic geþencan ne mæg geond þās woruld  
 for hwan mōdsefa mīn ne gesweorce,<sup>4</sup>

is the cry. I take *gēomormōd*, then, to express this due sense of the seriousness of life, and *hygegēomorne* to have a similar meaning. Compare the Elizabethan word *sad*. *Brēostceare* and *sīnsorgna gedrēag* form poetic repetitions of *gēomormōd*. After the caution that a young man should be of cheerful exterior, the

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 65 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 109 ff.

<sup>3</sup> "Des Vaters Lehren," Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek*, p. 355, ll. 54-56.

<sup>4</sup> *Wanderer*, ll. 58 f.



moralizer hastens again to drive home the main lesson. Yet it was none the less a virtue to be amiable. The wise father, in the course of his moral instructions, utters the warning: "ac bēo lēofwende!"<sup>1</sup> Evidently a seriousness which manifested itself in a gloomy demeanor was as much of a mistake as frivolity.

We shall take up this passage again later, in connection with what follows. It will be noticed that the parallelism to ll. 17 ff. is striking. In those the lady grieves that she has had to lose a man who was serious, self-restrained, and prepared for calamity, yet cheerful. The same phrase, *blīpe gebāero*, occurs in each passage, and *hygegēomor* is much like *gēomormōd*.

Let us now consider l. 20, *mōd mīpendne, morþor hycgend(n)e*. The wise man keeps his thoughts to himself, which is the virtue brought out in *mōd mīpendne*. The father's instructions, from which quotations have already been made, are again in point:

Wærwyrd sceal wisfæst hæle  
brēostum hycgan, nales breatme hlūd.<sup>2</sup>

The Bosworth-Toller lexicon renders the unusual word *wærwyrd* "cautious of speech." The general sense is in any case plain. The *Wanderer*, too, offers a good parallel:

Ic tō sōpe wāt  
ræt biþ in eorle indryhten þeaw  
ræt hē his ferðlocan fæste binde,  
healde his hordcofan, hycge swā hē wille.<sup>3</sup>

Other citations are hardly necessary. The phrase *morþor hycgendne*, however, requires more attention. I believe it may have been universally misunderstood in this passage. I take it to mean "meditating upon death," and not "brooding over murder," *mord sinnend* (Roeder).<sup>4</sup> The similarity of certain Anglo-Saxon words to their representatives in modern English and German occasionally blinds us to differences in their meaning. "Murder" means nowadays "intentional and unlawful homicide."<sup>5</sup> But the use of the term *morþor* in early days was much less specialized. It meant, apparently, any kind of violent death. Its use in

<sup>1</sup> L. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 57, 58.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 11-14.

<sup>4</sup> "Wir bekommen nicht zu wissen, welche Ränke die Sippe des Mannes abte. Sollte sie ihn vielleicht zu einem Morde angestiftet oder ihn so gereizt haben, dass er einen Angehörigen seines eigenen Geschlechts erschlug?" Roeder, p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> Webster's *International Dictionary*.

*Beowulf* illustrates perfectly the fact that the modern word "murder" will not always serve as a translation. Grendel is spoken of (l. 683) as *morbres scyldig*, although killed in a fair fight. The purely accidental slaying of Herebeald by Haethcyn is referred to thus:

Wæs rām yldestan ungedēfelice  
māges dāedum morþor-bed strēd.<sup>1</sup>

The citations which have already been given à propos of the word *gēomormōd* are again in point here. Meditation upon one's latter end cannot fail to induce seriousness. Nothing in the text justifies giving an adversative meaning to *blīþe gebēaro*, and translating "holding murder in his thoughts, yet so blithe of bearing," as Stopford Brooke does.<sup>2</sup> Of course the rendering "murder" is not absolutely impossible, since that was one of the ways to meet a violent end. But the word as it stands is not so specialized in meaning, and unless something hitherto undiscovered is revealed in the context to justify that rendering, it gives a false impression of the passage. In days when a man was as constantly beset by peril as he was in the eighth century, it was well to have the possibility of a sudden end in mind, in whatever form that might come.

The husband emerges from the ordeal of a rigid examination of the lines, then, not only unscathed, but with added virtues to his credit. We may now briefly consider an attack recently made upon the personality of the unfortunate lady, which is no less than an attempt to prove that the piece does not depict the sorrows of a woman at all. Upon a hasty review, this revolutionary theory sounds plausible, especially as the author, Dr. L. L. Schücking,<sup>3</sup> has incidentally made comments upon the text, some of which are entirely sound. But the more closely the hypothesis is examined, the more evident its untenability becomes. It is not wholly a new one; the earliest editors were of the opinion that a man must be regarded as the protagonist. This was due to

<sup>1</sup> *Béow.*, ll. 2435-6. The Heyne-Socin glossary defines *morþor* as "gewaltsame Tötung, Mord," but is not equally careful in defining the compounds. The meaning of the word is further extended to "torment, injury," or sins of various kinds, even adultery. See Grein's *Sprachschatz*, and the Bosworth-Toller lexicon.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Early English Literature*, p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> For Schücking's article, see n. 1 above, p. 388.

defective knowledge of Anglo-Saxon, however, or to failure to notice the feminine terminations which indicate the sex of the speaker. Dr. Schücking thinks he finds a way to get rid of these troublesome endings, and adds many other reasons to support his view. Before we can allow the unhappy lady to have another woe added to her store by being put out of existence altogether, in the pages of the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, it may be well to show briefly how strong is her defense, and how weak the case of her adversary. So much seems to be demanded by galantry, if not by scholarship.

A most serious objection to Schücking's view presents itself at the very outset—the feminine endings just mentioned.

Ic þis giedd wrece bi mē ful gēomorre,  
 mīnre sylfre sið; ic þæt secgan mæg,  
 hwæt ic yrmþa gebād, siþþan ic ūp wēox,  
 nīwes oþþe ealdes, nō mā þonne nū;  
 ā ic wite wonn mīnra wræcsipa!

Schücking acknowledges that *gēomorre* and *mīnre sylfre* cannot be explained away as lapses due to the scribe, and properly rejects Thorpe's high-handed restoration of the masculine forms. But his method of disposing of the case is hardly less arbitrary. He thinks that these two lines, at least in their present form, are not original, since feminine inflections applying to the speaker do not elsewhere occur, and suggests that the last man who dealt with the poem in its original form misunderstood the situation, and either inserted the feminine forms instead of the masculine, or else prefixed the two lines in question to the poem as he found it. The latter hypothesis he thinks more probable, since the meter in 1b requires the feminine termination. The piece perhaps began originally, he maintains, as follows:

Hwæt! ic yrmþa gebād, siþþan ic ūp āwēox,  
 nīwra oþþe ealdra nō mā þonne nū.

Textual errors occur in various places, and he calls upon the patchwork theory to help out his case. "Wie vielleicht auch die zusammensetzung des Wanderers dartut (vgl. Boer, *Z. f. d. Ph.*, 35, 1 ff., nicht in allen punkten überzeugend), haben wir es

bei den im *Exeterbuch* überlieferten lyr. gedichten nicht mit einer reinen überlieferung zu tun."<sup>1</sup>

To attribute to misunderstanding or interpolation the two lines which absolutely contradict the theory is practically to beg the whole question. Schücking sees in the addition of the first two lines a "lyric tradition," and compares the opening of the *Seafarer*. But if the hypothetical beginning of the piece, *Hwæt! ic yrmþa gebād*, etc., is as natural as he finds it, would it have been necessary to prefix the two opening lines, when this lyric tradition is only occasionally observed? Suppose, for the sake of argument, we grant that the lines were added later. We should then have to assume that the redactor intended *þæt* to refer to *giedd*, and so placed a full stop after the end of l. 2. This seems improbable—*giedd secgan* is unusual, at least. Moreover, this would leave *nīwes opþe ealdes* without other antecedent than *yrmþa*, which is feminine. It will be observed that Schücking, in his reconstruction of the old beginning of the piece, changes this phrase to *nīwra opþe ealdra*. It might be conjectured, on the other hand, that the reviser ingeniously altered *hwæt* from an interjection to a pronoun, its antecedent being *þæt* (l. 2), which is the accepted construction of the lines today, and also that he gave the present form to the first half of l. 4. This is much like the processes of Boer, in the article to which Schücking alludes. I have already criticized those arguments elsewhere, both in matters of detail and of method. Anyone who believes that the *Wanderer* is a composite of the sort that Boer makes it out to be will have little difficulty in regarding these first two lines as an excrescence to be lopped off at will. No one will deny that there are many textual errors in the lyrics, but that these are necessarily evidences of divided authorship or of editorial revision I see no reason to believe.

These observations apply equally well to the alternative theory, that the first two lines were not prefixed, but merely altered. The whole idea that some man who recast the piece misunderstood its meaning makes argument almost impossible. If we cannot take

<sup>1</sup> P. 447. For a review of Boer's work, cf. article by the present writer in the *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. IV, pp. 460-80.

the plain evidence of grammatical forms for what it signifies, we might as well forsake all reasoning from the known facts the poem affords. The men who perpetuated it in Anglo-Saxon times must have had at least as good an idea of its meaning as we, and the presumption is all in favor of their having had a better.

Schücking lays much stress upon the word *leodfruma*<sup>1</sup> (l. 8), emphasizing the fact that it does not mean "husband" but "prince," which no one will dispute for a moment. But he seems to think it strange that a noble lady should speak of her husband as her "lord," although he admits that *Wealhtheow* addresses *Hrothgar* as *freo-drihten mīn*, and that *sin-frēa* is likewise used of a husband, *Beow.*, 1170. Why is not the analogy of such words as *drihten* or *frēa* perfect? Here too the original meaning is not "husband," yet they are clearly used of a lord in this relation. Perhaps a quotation from Roeder's investigation of the Anglo-Saxon family will clear up this matter most quickly. It will be observed that Roeder is not making these statements in connection with this particular poem. "Der Mann erscheint als der Herr und Gebieter der Frau: *Gen.*, 2225 nennt Sarah ihren Gatten *drihten mīn!* oder er heisst ihr *man-drihten*, 2242 . . . 2729 *frēa-drihten*, ebenfalls von Abraham. 2783 apostrophiert ihn Sarah: *mīn swēes frēa!* . . . Es lässt sich also auch hier bemerken, dass man die eheliche Gemeinschaft als ein Komitatsverhältniss ansieht . . . Einmal wird in den RätseIn 62.4 der Mann sogar der "holde" Herr der Frau genannt: *holdum bēodne*."<sup>2</sup> Other examples might be cited.<sup>3</sup> The common later English usage makes it seem entirely natural for an Anglo-Saxon lady to have addressed her husband as her lord. Schücking admits: "An sich ist dies wohl nicht absolut ausgeschlossen . . . immerhin gibt diese stelle im verein mit dem folgenden zu denken,"<sup>4</sup> proceeding then to other arguments. But if this point has no weight, it cannot support subsequent proofs. In logic, as in mathematics,  $X+0=X$ , and no more. There is no chain of reasoning more fallacious than that built of separate arguments each of which amounts to nothing in itself.

<sup>1</sup> P. 438.<sup>2</sup> Roeder, *loc. cit.*, pp. 109, f.<sup>3</sup> *Genesis*, l. 655; *Beow.*, l. 641; *Gnom. Exon.*, l. 91.<sup>4</sup> P. 440.

Nothing in ll. 9, 10 makes it improbable that the speaker is a woman, although we are told they are "von der grössten Wichtigkeit." Schücking is probably right in translating *folgað sēcan* "gefolgschaftsdienst zu suchen." As for the phrase *winelēas wræcca*, there is no reason why it may not apply to a woman as well as to a man; cf. *Doktor se Babiloinisca wræcca, filia Babiloinis misera*, Ps. Lamb., 136, 8. Yet upon this point Schücking lays great stress, not stating it quite exactly; "damit ist nun der wichtigste punkt für die erklärung des gedichts berührt: kann der sprecher der von sich sagt, dass er als freundloser 'recke' neue gefolgschaft suche eine frau sein? ich halte es für unmöglich."<sup>1</sup> But the word *wræcca* does not mean "recke," it means "der umherirrende heimatlose," as Schücking himself says. He admits, too, that the expression may be used of a woman entering service in a foreign land. But this, he says, is "unwahrscheinlich." Why? Such incidents are common in early story.<sup>2</sup> All this is worth no more than the *lēodfruma* argument, as far as proof goes. Similarly, *frēondscipe* (l. 25) may certainly be used of the love of a man and woman, cf. *frēondmynd, cogitationes amatoriae*, Gen., 1830, 1831; *frēond-rēden(n)*, *conditio amatoria*, Jul., 34, 71, etc.<sup>3</sup> But Schücking remarks: "*frēondscipe* mit Roeder als 'liebesbund' zu übersetzen, liegt kein grund vor. vgl. *frynd* v. 33." What the point of this reference is does not appear. Of course the dual form *uncer* disposes of any idea that *frēondscipe* may refer to the relation between others than the speaker and the *mon* of l. 18.

Moreover, Schücking's interpretation involves much shifting of subject. *pæs monnes* (l. 11) is not the same person as *mīn lēodfruma* (l. 8), although there is no intimation of any other man's coming into the narrative except what one may imagine in *folgað sēcan*. The person whose kinsmen are plotting to estrange him from the speaker is not the one whom the speaker has men-

<sup>1</sup> P. 440.

<sup>2</sup> Miss M. R. Cox, in treating the variants of the Cinderella-story, enumerates many instances of the "menial heroine" incident (*Publications of the Folk-Lore Society*, XXXI). Cf. especially her Preface. "Numberless instances," she says, "might be adduced in which a hero or heroine must undergo a term of servitude before fulfilling an exalted destiny" (p. xi).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Roeder, p. 95.

tioned with tenderness in l. 7; the *hlāford mīn* of l. 15 is not the *mīn hlāford* of l. 6. Another shift comes in l. 18. The *ful gemæcne monnan* is not the *mon* of l. 11, the new lord to whom our attention has supposedly been diverted, but lord number one is introduced without any indication that a change has been made. It is scarcely conceivable that anyone reading or hearing this for the first time would interpret the situation as Schücking imagines it, unless the outlines of the story were familiar. There are shifts of subject in early poetry, but nothing quite so wild as this.

It is hardly worth while to examine these arguments further. Other errors might be pointed out,<sup>1</sup> but enough has been said to lead to a safe conclusion. There is no valid evidence that the speaker must be a man and cannot be a woman, while there are the best of reasons for holding that the speaker must be a woman and cannot be a man.

More interesting to the general reader, and more important for literary history and aesthetic criticism is the question of what the interpretation of the poem as a whole shall be. What is the story, obscurely shadowed forth, which it tells?

It is a difficult problem to solve—an impossible one, I believe, unless one looks beyond the limits of the text. There is so much in the language that admits of varied translation that it is hardly surprising that there has never been any unanimity about the underlying plot. Even if an exact and literal translation could be agreed upon, it is highly doubtful if it would be possible to reconstruct from this the situation as the poet conceived it. Moreover, in a poem of lyrical character a detailed and circumstantial narrative cannot be expected. It seems likely that three or four hypothetical plots might be proposed, none of which would be inconsistent with the text, because so much allowance must in any case be made for the omissions in the story. The interpretation of the piece as it stands, with all its ambiguities upon its head, is ten times more difficult. And if it is obscure to the lynx-eyed modern investigator, who reads it over and over again, and weighs

<sup>1</sup> Cf. n. 2, p. 403, below; *on þissum londstede*, l. 16, does not appear to mean that the speaker is living "im neuen lande," but rather in the country of the *hlāford* of l. 6, who departed *heonan of lēodum*; *āhte*, too, is preterit. Does *on eorþan* (l. 33) mean "fern"? (Schücking, p. 441).



the evidence of each detail with minute care, would it not have confused the people for whom it was originally composed? What would a listening throng have made of it, if they had been obliged to evolve the story for themselves?

Assume, on the other hand, that we are dealing with a lyric treatment of some theme familiar to everyone in Anglo-Saxon times, and these difficulties vanish. With the general course of events already in mind, an audience could have understood and appreciated the telling of the tale, and the minstrel would have been unhampered in bringing out its pathos and its passion. And this proceeding was just what such an audience would have expected. Nothing was commoner than for the poet to touch only upon certain moments in a story and suppress others, as suited his artistic purpose. Certain situations are thus thrown into high relief, as in the poetic *Edda*. But unless the audience knows the story, this procedure is impossible. The *Wife's Lament* may well be like certain episodes in *Beowulf*—the Finn-episode, for instance, a narrative the true course of which can only be guessed at from the lines as they stand. Unfortunately, the story of Finn has not been preserved in other sources, but there is reason to think that we are more fortunate in the present case. At all events, whether one believes a priori that the poem is based upon *heldensage* or not, it is clear that one cannot properly interpret any piece of Anglo-Saxon verse by focusing his gaze upon it alone, and disregarding all the material in song and story which it recalls today, and which it must have suggested even more to a man of the eighth century.

Identification of the events here narrated with those of some heroic tale has already been proposed several times, but never worked out in a wholly convincing way. Nor has the relation of the Anglo-Saxon lyric in general to material of this sort been satisfactorily treated. Ten Brink's statement that it is improbable that such relations exist<sup>1</sup>—with the exception of *Deor's Lament*—has frequently been quoted, and deserves all consideration, as coming from so high an authority. Miss Rickert, in the article already alluded to, disagrees with him, and argues at some length

<sup>1</sup> *History of English Literature*, transl. Kennedy, Vol. I, p. 61.

for the identification of this poem with the Offa-saga.<sup>1</sup> Her monograph is careful and complete, yet exception may be taken to some of her observations upon this particular poem, and especially to some of her conclusions regarding the lyric. Let us first consider the general situation, and then the claims of the Offa-saga to be a key unlocking the mystery of the misfortunes of the distressed wife.

It seems evident, upon careful examination, that no such statement as ten Brink's, that the Anglo-Saxon lyrics are or are not based upon *heldensage*, will serve. In three of these, the *Wanderer*, the *Seafarer*, and the *Ruin*, it appears to play no part. In three others, the *Banished Wife's Lament*, the *Husband's Message*, and *Signy's Lament* (the First Riddle), the very backbone of the dramatic structure is in all probability a well-known heroic tale. In two others the connection is of a different sort. Widsith—if we may include his story under lyric verse—cites famous warriors as his patrons with unblushing insouciance, in one instance introducing himself in a circumstantial way at the courts of Eormannic and Eadgils.<sup>2</sup> But he deals with names, not with situations. The interest of his tale is that of a catalogue, in the main. What little story there is in the poem is his own, not that of the heroes whom he has seen. Again, Deor, in his lament, fortifies his heart in adversity by recalling the misfortunes of famous personages. Here, too, the connection is external. Incidents of saga have nothing to do with his troubles except as affording parallels.

It will be observed, then, that the Anglo-Saxon lyrics are not all of a similar character as regards plot, for it is here that the distinction must be made. In the *Wanderer* the events narrated are simple. The exile's lord has died; he has been forced to seek a new one. This is all; the interest of the poem depends not upon the events of the Wanderer's life, but upon his description of the effects of exile and the decay of the fair things of the world upon the heart. There is no need to turn to saga to explain all this, and the situation is too vague and general to permit of satisfactory

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philology*, Vol. II, pp. 365 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. article by the present writer, *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, No. 2.

identification. The *Seafarer* shows even less "plot" than the *Wanderer*. No train of events is narrated. A sailor contrasts the hardships of voyaging with the security of life upon shore, yet emphasizes the mysterious call of the sea. As for the *Ruin*, it was obviously inspired by the remains of some city, the name of which it would be interesting to know, but this is not necessary to the enjoyment of the piece, and there is nothing to suggest connection with the *heldensage* about this bit of realistic description.

On the other hand, the *Husband's Message*, the so-called First Riddle—not a riddle at all, but a dramatic soliloquy—and the poem at present under discussion are very different. Here, despite the "lyric cry," there is obviously a very definite and somewhat involved story underlying the whole, a story not clearly set forth, but one which must be understood if the piece is to be fully appreciated. These three poems seem, then, to stand entirely apart from the rest in this regard. Moreover, they have all been connected with familiar old stories, and the resemblances seem too strong to be purely fortuitous. Following the demonstration that the First Riddle contains Scandinavianisms which indicate connection with Old Norse,<sup>1</sup> Professor Schofield pointed out the striking likeness to a situation in the *Volsungasaga*, and renamed it *Signy's Lament*.<sup>2</sup> He has also noted that the *Husband's Message* is much like an episode of the *Tristram saga*, which appears to have been current in England in early times,<sup>3</sup> and has promised an article upon this subject. The parallelism between the *Wife's Lament* and certain parts of the *Offa-saga*—or, if one prefers, the *Constance-saga*—is remarkable, especially when certain resemblances not hitherto noted are considered.

Miss Rickert suggests that the lyric poems may have formed portions of lost epics. This affords an opportunity for interesting speculation, but in the scarcity of surviving epic material, no ground for satisfactory conclusions. There seems to be no reason why the *giedd* or short monologue of the epic should not have been current in isolated form as well, or even have been preserved after

<sup>1</sup> *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XVII, pp. 247 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 262 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 202.

the longer poem had passed out of memory, since an epic was to men of early days a necklace the pearls of which might be detached at will. And when lyric interludes in stichic verse formed a part of epic poems, there would have been no incongruity in giving this form to similar pieces having no direct connection with longer works. But it is hard to see how Miss Rickert can see in the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer* "a definite dramatic situation the details of which are more or less obscure,"<sup>1</sup> and believe that a definite saga-episode must have been in the poet's mind. The point seems to be that the whole is indefinite. Any exile in the conventional position of the *Wanderer*, any sailor who has experienced the strange fascination of the sea may be the protagonist. It is easy to pick out moments in various sagas to which the experiences of these men apply—Miss Rickert suggests two for each poem—but nothing leads to satisfactory identification. On the other hand, consider the *Husband's Message* or the *Wife's Lament*. Any woman banished into a wood or any husband or lover writing to his lady will not satisfy the demands of the situation. There is of course no way of proving that the poet of the *Wanderer* or the *Seafarer* may not have had saga-figures in mind, but there is nothing to show that such was the case. They may be explained and enjoyed as typical figures; the others may not.

In the absence of documentary evidence, it seems equally impossible to prove that the *Banished Wife's Lament* is or is not based on the Offa-saga. The question is rather whether the resemblances in incident and mood are sufficiently close, and whether such facts as have been determined in regard to the early history of the Offa material render the hypothesis a likely one. It should not be forgotten that the general reasons stated above for assuming a saga-basis for the poem will still hold, even if the particular identification here reviewed be rejected.

It is not the design of the present paper to give a summary of the arguments which point to this relationship with the Offa-saga. For this the reader is referred to Miss Rickert's monograph, and to Gough's discussion of the Constance-saga in *Palæstra XXIII*. The twelfth-century *Vita Offæ Primi*, which Miss Rickert uses

<sup>1</sup> P. 371.

as the basis of her work, deserves careful attention as the earliest elaborated account, and doubtless preserves many details of the story as it existed in the eighth century, but various changes and additions must have taken place in the four centuries intervening, for many of which the fusion with the Offa II-Cynethryth material is doubtless responsible. While Gough's reconstruction of the hypothetical primitive form shows certain elements which must have been prominent in early times, no extant version reproduces the tale as it existed when this lyric was probably written.

There is no doubt, however, that the story of the shadowy Anglian king Offa, blended with *märchen* elements, was well known in England in the time of Cynewulf. Some details in regard to him are familiar from *Beowulf* and *Widsith*, and both Suchier<sup>1</sup> and Gough agree in locating the earliest form of the saga in Anglian territory. Everything goes to show that it would have been entirely natural for the author of this lyric to have used the saga as literary material. The resemblances of incident are thus fortified by the inherent probability of such borrowing.

These resemblances, if accidental, are remarkable. The heroine's early years of misfortune and exile, her husband's departure, the hostility of his kinsfolk, her banishment into a wilderness at his orders—all this is quite in keeping with the account in the saga. The narrative element, however, soon becomes subordinated to the lyric complaints. Certain passages for which I would suggest another interpretation than Miss Rickert's have already been discussed. It remains to explain the closing lines, which she has had difficulty in reconciling with the earlier part of the poem and with the saga itself. There is a strong resemblance to the *Vita* here which she has failed to note.

The translation of ll. 42-53, as I understand them, runs as follows:

Ever ought a young man to be serious of mind, steadfast the thoughts of his heart, (he should have) a pleasant demeanor as well, also care, the weight of constant anxiety, whether<sup>2</sup> he have achieved all his worldly

<sup>1</sup> "Über die Sage von Offa und Dryfo," Paul-Brauer *Beiträge*, Vol. IV, p. 521.

<sup>2</sup> I should accept Schücking's explanation of *sy . . . sy*. *Gelong* means literally, "proceeding from, dependent upon." Cf. mod. colloquial "along of." The contrast in the lines that between a successful and an unfortunate man—to paraphrase, "whether he have as

joy, or be far and wide surrounded by hostility<sup>1</sup> in a far-distant land—where<sup>2</sup> my friend<sup>3</sup> sitteth beneath the rocky cliff, beaten by the storm, weary-hearted, drenched with water in his dreary hall! He endureth mighty sorrow; he remembereth too oft a more joyful dwelling. Woe is his who must in longing await the coming of a dear one!

It is important to recollect that we are getting the story from the woman's point of view, that she does not know the real state of affairs. Vaguely she feels that her husband's relatives are at the bottom of the trouble, but cannot particularize. The forged order of banishment has brought, in addition to her physical sufferings, the agony of supposing that her husband is estranged from her. More than this, the false letter contained the news of the king's defeat and of his imminent peril.<sup>4</sup> So she has also to bear the thought that he is now among victorious enemies. This explains the closing lines. After the lyric elaboration of ll. 29–41, her thoughts turn to the qualities of the ideal man, whether he be fortunate or be *ful wīde fāh feorres folclondes*, which she supposes

a result of his efforts all the joy that can be his on earth, or be hunted down in a foreign land, he should still be mindful of the future life." Perhaps the implication is that the lady's husband was lacking in this high seriousness.

<sup>1</sup> *Fāh* means literally "proscribed."

<sup>2</sup> I read *þær* (Thorpe, Ettmüller) instead of *þæt*. One wonders how Schücking would translate the entire passage, especially how he reconciles ll. 43, 44, and 45a with his conception. In his paraphrase he completely ignores them: "denn ein junger mann (wie ich) muss immer traurig sein, ob es ihm selbst nun gut geht oder böse, wenn es seinem herrn so schlecht geht, wie dem meinen." This really gives a false idea of the train of thought. The construction of *þæt*, (l. 47) is in any case harsh as the text stands. Schücking takes it as a conjunction referring to *gēomormōd*, five lines back, with another independent clause, *swylce habban sceal blīþe gebæro*, etc., and the "alternative hypothesis" ll. 45, 46 intervening. This is surely a good deal of a strain, "grammatisch . . . ein wenig aus der rolle gefallen," indeed. The meaning seems to be, on this hypothesis, that the young man is not only sad, but resolute of heart and of blithe exterior because his lord is faring so badly. The passage intervening between *gēomormōd* and *þæt* is not parenthetical in form, and it is difficult to see how it can be in sense.

<sup>3</sup> *Winc*, as well as *frēond*, may mean "husband;" cf. Bosworth-Toller.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Originals and Analogues*, Chaucer Soc., Vol. I, pp. 71–84, for a reprint of the *Vita*. The text of the forged letter is as follows: "Rex Offa, majoribus et præcipuis regni sui, salutis et prosperitatis augmentum; universitati vestre notum facio, in itinere, quod arripui, infortunia et adversa plurima tam mihi quam subditis meis accidisse, et majores exercitus mei, non ignava propria, vel hostium oppugnantium virtute, sed potius peccatis nostris justo Dei judicio interiisse. Ego autem instantis periculi causam pertractans, et conscientie meae intima perscrutatus, in metemipso nihil aliud conjicio altissimo displicere, nisi quod perditam et maleficam illam absque meorum consensu, uxorem imperito et infelici duxi matrimonio: Ut ergo de malefica memorata, voluntati vestre ad plenum quam temere offendi, satisfiat, asportetur cum liberis ex ea genitis ad loca deserta, hominibus incognita, feris et avibus aut sylvestribus prædonibus frequentata; ubi cum pueris suis puerpera truncata manus et pedes exemplo pereat inaudito."

is the condition of her lord at the present moment, and this in turn brings the direct mention of him, overcome by his foes in the rainy and dreary Scottish country. The keynote of the poem, expressed in the last two lines, applies equally well to husband or wife.

Two objections to this identification should be considered. Walker finds it strange that the child or children mentioned in the saga are not alluded to in the lyric.<sup>1</sup> Miss Rickert replies: "But these in V<sup>1</sup> play no part except as they are connected with the foundation of St. Albans." It ought to be added at this point that this did not take place until the latter part of the eighth century, the foundation being due to the repentance of Offa II (died 796) for the murder of Æthelbert, king of the East Anglians.<sup>2</sup> If the children are unimportant in the twelfth-century story except in this connection, it is unlikely that they were prominent in the eighth-century form of the saga. Moreover, this touch, of which such skilful use was made by Chaucer, may well have appealed less to the Anglo-Saxon poet, who was directing all his energies to making the relationship between the wife and the husband vivid, and confining himself to the compass of a brief lyric.

Again, the interpretation of the phrase *folgað sēcan* in relation to the saga is not clear. Possibly the lyric adds a touch not in the *Vita*. The meaning sometimes adopted, that the lady sought her lord or his body of followers, receives a little support from the statement in the *Vita* that he departed "cum Equitum numerosa multitudine." But Schücking's rendering of the phrase, "to seek service," is probably the right one. In various versions of the tale the wife does the work of a servant at different stages of her career. Miss Rickert seems to regard *feran gewāt* as referring to the banishment of ll. 15 and 27, but these particularize the punishment; she must dwell in a cave in the forest—a very different thing from any meaning to be read into *folgað sēcan*. Perhaps we are to take the situation to be that, driven from home by the hostility of her husband's kin, she returned to

<sup>1</sup> Grundriss, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hunt, *History of the English Church from Its Foundation to the Norman Conquest*, p. 235.



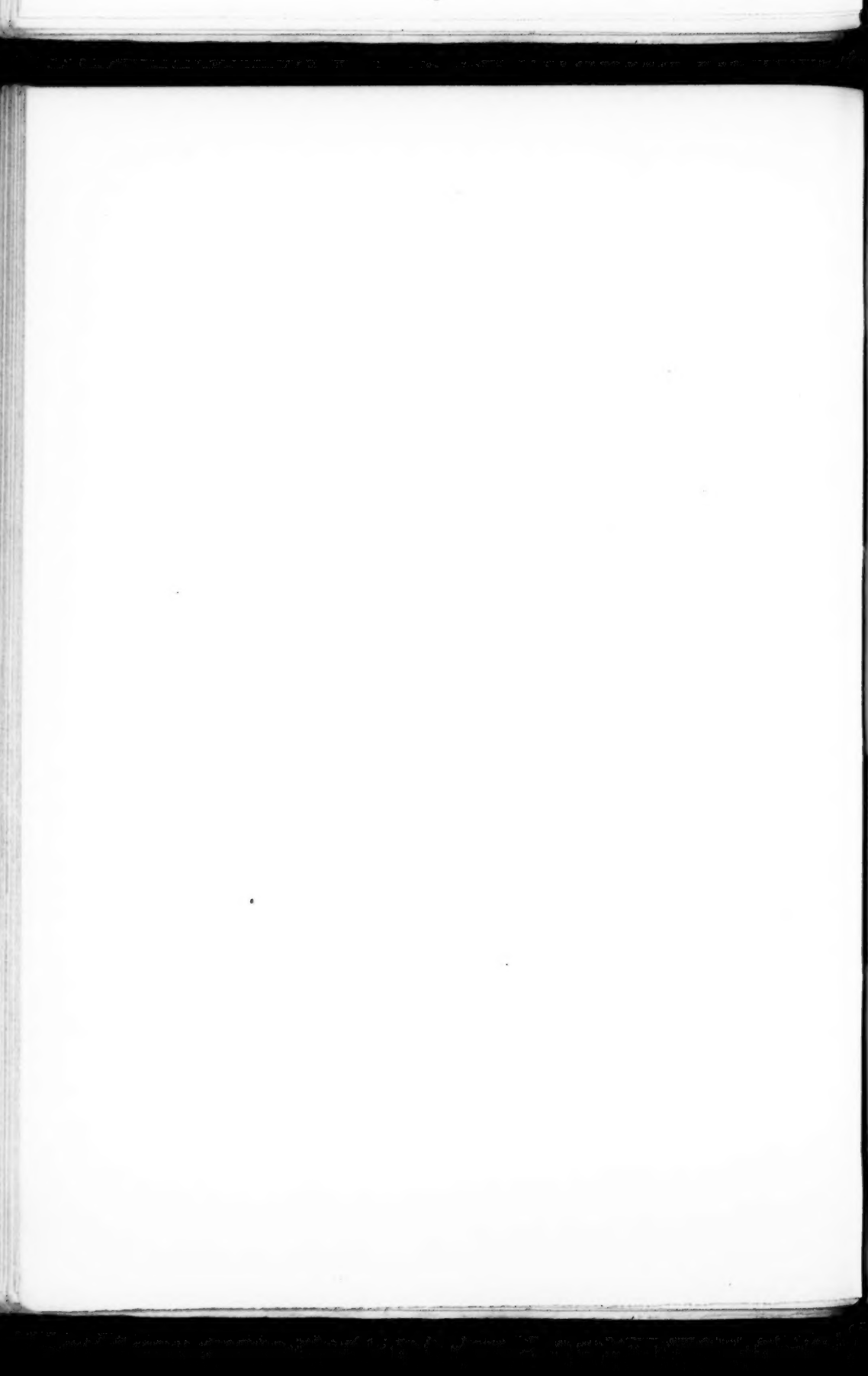
an occupation similar to that before her marriage. The wicked relatives, not content with this, then ordered her banishment to the wood. The question is difficult of solution, but the discrepancy does not seem a serious one.

Taking due account of these resemblances and differences, it is difficult to sum up the question with absolute impartiality. The Offa-saga certainly explains most readily the puzzling situation in the lyric. Schücking asks, for example: "Wie sollte der mann, der gatte, den v. 47 ff. selbst in der bedrängtesten lage im fremden lande zeigen, der frau befehlen können, im wald zu leben?" If one tries to answer this from the evidence of the lines alone, one struggles about in a maze of blind conjecture. The saga makes the solution plain at once. Yet in the absence of the confirming evidence of proper names, a matter which Miss Rickert has discussed at length, it is impossible to speak with confidence of the connection which the resemblances of incident lead one to assume between the two. Operations with saga-material are always dangerous. But the general proposition that the true elucidation of the poem will come from a heroic tale nevertheless remains sound. It must be conceded that some such story as this is far more likely to form the basis of the lyric than an imaginary train of events concocted in the brain of some modern critic. Invention was rare in early times; poets were not given to originating their plots when there were such ample stores from which to borrow. Their preference was ever for reshaping a twice-told tale, giving it freshness by new touches added here and there. All this is really too familiar to call for repetition, although one of the most dangerous pitfalls into which the critic stumbles is forgetfulness of the literary methods of early times. Whatever may be thought of the Offa-saga as a parallel, then, there remain the best of reasons for believing that the lyric is founded upon material of the same general character.

Finally, if we may trust the evidence of the old tale, it is pleasant to think that this Anglo-Saxon Mariana finds happiness in the end, like her later sister in the moated grange.

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## THE PLÉIADE AND PLATONISM

In the course of a study of Ronsard in his volume on *Le seizième siècle*, M. Faguet, speaking of the leader of the Pléiade, remarks:

Il faut d'abord lui savoir gré de n'avoir pas pris dans Pétrarque et d'avoir laissé aux Heroët et aux Maurice Scève la métaphysique amoureuse, l'idée cent fois exprimée, et toujours d'une façon plus raffinée, qu'un grand amour est une vertu, épure l'âme et l'élève jusqu'au domaine sacré des idées pures. Cette conception très féconde en galimatias est à peu près étrangère à Ronsard.

While he does not here distinguish between the "métaphysique amoureuse" of Petrarch and Heroët, what M. Faguet observes is in general quite correct. With the exception of but a few passages, platonism—that doctrine of a spiritual love of woman which had been the inspiration and theme of much of the best of French literature during the ten years preceding 1550—becomes suddenly almost non-existent in the bulky work of Ronsard.

It is the intention of the following paper to inquire from an examination of the French writings of the members of the Pléiade group in how far M. Faguet's remark concerning the relation of Ronsard to platonism is generally applicable to the seven literary men whose leader Ronsard confessedly was.

It is very striking how abrupt is the transition. From 1540-50 platonism was the dominant note of serious French poetry. Its discussion precipitated the famous "Querelle des Femmes" into which Rabelais himself was drawn.<sup>1</sup> The gay Marot chattered—not comprehending—about his *alliance de pensée*.<sup>2</sup> Platonism was the subject nearest to the heart of the greatest woman of her time—Margaret of Navarre—to whom Ronsard could pay such

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Abel Lefranc, "Le Tiers Livre de Pantagruel et la Querelle des Femmes," *Rev. des Etudes Rab.*, II, Nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> Clément Marot, *Œuvres*, ed. Saint-Marc, Vol. I, Rondeau XXXVIII, p. 331, Rondeau LI, p. 338, and Vol. II, p. 32, Epigramme LXXXVI.

magnificent personal homage,<sup>1</sup> but from whose favorite and deepest beliefs regarding the power of intellectual love he evidently dissented. Though the "Prince of Poets" looked for a regeneration of French literature through a conscious assimilation and imitation of classical—and especially Greek—originals, and while Plato was constantly in his hands,<sup>2</sup> Ronsard could not see his way to an acceptance of Renaissance platonism, based though the latter claimed to be on the express teachings of Plato himself.

Though guilty of a great many petrarchan sonnets himself, it was possibly the interminably puny and futile vaporings of the petrarchists which disgusted the full-blooded Ronsard with platonism. For while the apostles of platonism sharply distinguished their theory from that of petrarchism,<sup>3</sup> Ronsard apparently did not; and in the twentieth of his *Sonnets pour Hélène*, fired by a love of the truth and sacredness of love, he sarcastically speaks of the caricature of love which he found at court:

Où peu de feu se trouve et beaucoup de fumée.<sup>4</sup>

Ronsard in fact only occasionally essays platonism, and as Longnon observes,<sup>5</sup> though Ronsard does sometimes try to strike the transcendental note, he cannot hold it long. His most successful sonnet of this kind is probably the fine No. CLXVII of the first book of the *Amours*:

Je veux brusler, pour m'en-voler aux Cieux,  
 Tout l'imparfait de ceste escorce humaine,  
 M'éternisant comme le fils d'Alcemeine,  
 Qui tout en feu s'assit entre les Dieux.  
 Ja mon esprit, chatouillé de son mieux,  
 Dedans ma chair rebelle se promeine,  
 Et ja le bois de sa victime amaine  
 Pour s'enflammer aux rayons de tes yeux.  
 O saint brasier! ô feu chastement beau!  
 Las! brule moi d'un si chaste flambeau,  
 Qu'abandonnant ma dépouille connue,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Œuvres de Ronsard*, ed. Blanchemain, 8 vols., Paris, 1857-67, "Hymne Triomphal," Vol. II, pp. 313 ff., and "Elogue VI," Vol. IV, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> Antoine Heroët, *La Parfaite Amye*, ed. Dolet, Lyons, 1543, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 293.

<sup>5</sup> H. Longnon, "La Cassandre de Ronsard," *Revue des Questions Historiques*, New Series, Vol. XXVII, pp. 224 ff.

Net, libre et nud, je vole d'un plein saut  
Jusques au Ciel, pour adorer là haut  
L'autre beauté dont la tienne est venue!<sup>1</sup>

With this may be compared another sonnet, No. LIII of the *Sonnets pour Hélène*,<sup>2</sup> which is almost pure platonism as the Renaissance understood it. It contains, moreover, acknowledgment of woman's power for good over man, which the great Italian platonists and their French followers had possibly hoped to develop into a social gospel—the regeneration of man through spiritual communion with a refined, beautiful, and intellectual woman.<sup>3</sup>

Sometimes it appears that the lady whom Ronsard had in mind when he was writing would have liked to look on their relationship as platonic, but the poet proves a most unwilling pupil. For instance, in Sonnet XXVIII of those addressed to Hélène de Surgères, the heroine of the love-affair of his old age, Ronsard says:

Vous dites que l'amour entretient ses accords  
Par l'esprit seulement; je ne saurois le croire:  
Car l'esprit ne sent rien que par l'aide du corps.<sup>4</sup>

The same idea is repeated in Sonnet L, in which the poet admits the influence of Plato on the spirit, but argues, as before, that without the body the spirit would be useless:

Or vous aimez l'esprit, et, sans discretion,  
Vous dites que des corps les amours sont pollues.  
Tel dire n'est sinon qu' imagination  
Qui embrasse le faux pour les choses cognues;  
Et c'est renouveler la fable d' Ixion  
Qui se passoit de vent et n'aimoit que les nues.<sup>5</sup>

One of the earlier sonnets for Astrée—No. XV—contains the same hint: the possible preference of Ronsard's lady for his intellectual homage and at the same time the poet's implied contempt,

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> In this connection cf. Antoine Heroët, *La Parfaite Amye*, ed. 1543, p. 39; Marguerite de Navarre, *Les Adieux: Dernières Poésies*, ed. Lefranc, Paris, 1896, p. 352; cf. also W. A. R. Kerr, "Antoine Heroët's *Parfaite Amye*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XX, p. 580, and note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 238.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 308.

or at least distaste, for the platonic atmosphere in which Mlle. d'Estrées seemingly wished to bloom:

Voilà les poincts qui gardent l'amitié,  
Et non pas vous, qui n'aimez qu'en idées.<sup>1</sup>

Elsewhere, moreover, Ronsard speaks sarcastically of the *amour fabuleux*, which the ladies, he states, were learning from Léon Hébreu:

Leon Hebrieu qui donne aux dames cognoissance  
D'un amour fabuleux, etc.<sup>2</sup>

In the closing lines of the sonnet, which is addressed to Hélène de Surgères, Ronsard expresses the coarsest kind of incredulity regarding the good faith of the Jewish platonist.

In 1573, when presenting to Charles IX a copy of Léon Hébreu, Ronsard distinguishes between the earthly love, which he had always understood, and the heavenly love which roused his contempt. The laureate counsels the king to choose the terrestrial Venus and leave the celestial to the gods:

Prenez l'amour qui règne en terre  
Et laissez l'autre pour les dieux.<sup>3</sup>

This advice accords with the sentiment contained in what is perhaps the best known of all Ronsard's poems—the exquisite "Mignonne, allons voir si la rose." The closing three lines of this little ode—instinct as it is with the pagan, pleasure-loving spirit of the Renaissance—express, doubtless, Ronsard's true attitude toward the love problem:

Cueillez, cueillez votre jeunesse:  
Comme à cette fleur, la vieillesse  
Fera ternir votre beauté.<sup>4</sup>

The attitude of Du Bellay is more sympathetic toward platonism than that of Ronsard. The doctrine of spiritual love, for a time at least, evidently deeply interested the poet; yet in the end Du Bellay also reacted against the transcendental, and his view of the tender passion became quite "natural."

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> *Pièces retranchées*, LXII, Vol. I, p. 419.

<sup>3</sup> Ode VII, Book V, *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 331.

<sup>4</sup> Ode XVII, Book I, *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 117; cf. also the beautiful No. XLII of the *Sonnets pour Hélène*, *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 340.

The earliest verse published by Du Bellay is the sonnet group *L' Olive*, printed in 1549—the year which produced the *Défense et Illustration*. The best sonnet of the collection<sup>1</sup> is a fine piece of pure platonism, so well known as scarcely to justify quotation:

Si nostre vie est moins qu'une journée  
En l'éternel, si l'an qui fait le tour  
Chasse nos jours sans espoir de retour,  
Si perissable est toute chose née,

Que songes-tu, mon ame emprisonnée?  
Pourquoi te plais l'obscur de nostre jour  
Si pour voler en un plus clair séjour  
Tu as au dos l'aile bien empennée?

Là est le bien que tout esprit desire,  
Là le repos où tout le monde aspire,  
Là est l'amour, là le plaisir encore.

Là, ô mon ame, au plus haut ciel guidée  
Tu y pourras reconnoistre l'Idée  
De la beauté qu'en ce monde j'adore.<sup>2</sup>

Although Du Bellay alludes to Heroët as more of a philosopher than a poet in the *Défense*, among the former's earliest work is a fine tribute in verse to the then celebrated author of *La Parfaite Amye*, which of course is platonism in its most quintessential form. From the complimentary way in which he refers, not only to Heroët's manner but also to his matter, it is easy to understand—in spite of his *Défense*—how far Du Bellay at first was from being revolutionary:

#### A HEROËT

Paris, mais bien la France toute,  
De Seine oit tous les jours le son  
Qui fait de toy mainte chanson  
Que nostre siecle heureux escoute.

Heroët, aux vers heroïques  
(Sujet vraiment digne du ciel),  
Qui en douceur passent le miel,  
En gravité les fronts stoïques,

<sup>1</sup>As Du Bellay assumes responsibility for the "Olive" sequence, the question of his sources is not important here. Cf., however, in this connection, Joseph Vianey, "Sources italiennes de l'Olive," *Annales Internationales d'Histoire*, 1901, Vol. VI, pp. 71-104.

<sup>2</sup>*Œuvres de J. Du Bellay*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, 2 vols., Paris, 1866-67, Vol. I, p. 137.



Ta muse, des Graces amie,  
La mienne à te louer semond,  
Qui sur le haut du double mont  
As erigé l'Académie.<sup>1</sup>

The volume published by Du Bellay in 1552 shows that the influence of the platonizing school on the poet was now at its height. Among the poems is a graceful sonnet to Maurice Scève, in which the Lyons platonist, who, like Heroët, had been censured in the *Défense*, is compared to Petrarch and referred to as "sainctement inspiré." Scève's difficult series of dizains—*Délie*<sup>2</sup>—was published in 1544, just two years later than *La Parfaite Amye*.

From the point of view of platonism, however, the volume of 1552 has something much more important than the tribute to Scève, which in itself would be comparatively insignificant. The *Sonnets de l'Honneste Amour* are to a considerable extent impregnated with platonist theories. It is impossible, for instance, to mistake the source of the following sonnet—No. II of the series:

Ce ne sont pas ces beaux cheveux dorez,  
Ni ce beau front, qui l'honneur mesme honore:  
Ce ne sont pas les deux archers encore  
De ses beaux yeux de cent yeux adorez;

Ce ne sont pas les deux brins colorez  
De ce coral, ces levres que j'adore;  
Ce n'est ce teint emprunté de l'aurore  
Ni autre objet des cœurs enamourez;

Ce ne sont pas ni ces lis ni ces roses,  
Ni ces deux rangs de perles bien closes;  
C'est cest esprit, rare present des cieux,

Dont la beaulté de cent graces pourveue  
Perce mon ame et mon cœur et mes yeux  
Par les rayons de sa poignante veue.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 259. This is only one of several graceful allusions to Heroët by Du Bellay.

<sup>2</sup> *Délie*, as has often been pointed out, is an anagram of "L'idée." Cf. in this connection, Drayton's sonnet sequence *Idea*, and Daniels' *Delia* (both of 1594).

<sup>3</sup> *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 61.

Again the close of the fourth sonnet of this sequence connects Du Bellay at once with platonic doctrine and especially with Heroët's phrasing of it:

Le premier feu de mon moindre plaizir  
Faict halleter mon alteré desir:  
Puis de noz cœurs la celeste Androgyné  
Plus saintement vous oblige ma foy:  
Car j'ayme tant cela que j'y imagine  
Que je ne puis aymer ce que je voy.<sup>1</sup>

Although he was afterward to react against the "quintessential" in love, at this period Du Bellay seems to preach that idea as the climax of the aspiration of his affection:

Ces deux soleils, deux flambeaux de mon âme,  
Pour me rejoindre à la divinité,  
Percent l'obscur de mon humanité  
Par les rayons de leur jumelle flâme.  
O cent fois donq, et cent fois bienheureux  
L'heureux aspect de mon astre amoureux!  
Puisque le ciel voulut à ma naissance  
Du plus divin de mes affections  
Par l'allambic de voz perfections  
Tirer d'Amour une cinquième essence.<sup>2</sup>

The *tiers ciel* also, to which Du Bellay alludes in Sonnet VI of this same sequence, was later on to be derided by the poet as being merely a pose:

Quand je suis pres de la flamme divine,  
Où le flambeau d'amour est allumé  
Mon saint desir saintement emplumé  
Jusqu'au tiers ciel d'un prin-vol m'achemine.<sup>3</sup>

The practical identification, too, of beauty with goodness, or at least a belief in the incompatibility of beauty and evil, so prevalent among the Renaissance platonists, appears in the seventh sonnet:

Le dieu bandé a desbandé mes yeux,  
Pour contempler cette beaulté cachée  
Qui ne se peut, tant soit bien recherchée  
Représenter en ung cœur vicieux.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 62. The copy of the Dolet edition of the *Parfaite Amye*, possessed by the Bibliothèque Nationale, contains bound in with it a translation by Heroët into French of the *Androgyné de Platon*.

<sup>2</sup> *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 62, Sonnet V.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

Speaking of the ecstasy into which this transcendental love throws him, Du Bellay says in Sonnet X:

Ja mon esprit, ja mon cœur, ja ma vois,  
Ja mon amour conçoit forme nouvelle  
D'une beaulté plus parfaitement belle  
Que le fin or epuré par sept fois.  
Rien de mortel ma langue plus ne sonne:  
Ja peu à peu moi-mesme j'abandonne, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In Du Bellay's subsequent work platonism seems to lose the reality which the foregoing citations may indicate the doctrine of spiritual love once had for him. At any rate the poet reacts markedly from the mental attitude which finds expression in the *Honneste Amour* group of sonnets. The *Zeitgeist* appears to have been against platonism; possibly, too, Du Bellay's affair with Faustine in Rome in 1555 did not tend to make him regard such conceptions with sympathetic interest. His later mood, which is quite in harmony with that of his friend Ronsard, voices itself in the poem, "Contre les Pétrarquistes,"<sup>2</sup> contained in the *Jeux Rustiques*, published in 1558:

J'ai oublié l'art de pétrarquiser,  
Je veux d'amour franchement deviser,  
Sans vous flatter et sans me déguiser.

In the sixth stanza of this interesting poem Du Bellay comes out flatly against that "quintessential" in love and that "third heaven" which a few years before, as we have seen, had been his aspiration:

Quelque autre encor' la terre dedaignant  
Va du tiers ciel les secrets enseignant,  
Et de l'amour, où il va se baignant,  
Tire une quinte essence.  
Mais quant à moy, qui plus terrestre suis  
Et n'ayme rien que ce qu'aymer je puis,<sup>3</sup>  
Le plus subtil qu'en amour je poursuis  
S'appelle jouissance.

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 65. References to this rapt ecstasy in which contemplation of the beloved object might end are to be found elsewhere in the literature of the Renaissance. Cf. *Herost Parfaite Amye*, p. 25; cf. also Baldassare Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, close of Book IV.

<sup>2</sup> *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 333. For some remarks on this poem cf. Arthur Tilley, *Literature of the French Renaissance*, Vol. I, pp. 348, 349.

<sup>3</sup> There could hardly be a more thoroughly right-about face than is evidenced by a comparison of these lines with a couplet already quoted from the fourth sonnet of the *Honneste Amour* series:

Car j'ayme tant cela que j'ymagine  
Que je ne puis aymer ce que je voy.

Du Bellay's reaction against petrarchism may be compared with an interesting passage in the *Parfaite Amye* in which Heroët also scornfully repudiates petrarchism and carefully distinguishes his very serious and philosophic conception of platonic love from that of Petrarch and his imitators.<sup>1</sup> Du Bellay, it is clear, either did not see or did not understand, or if he knew of, did not accept the distinction which Heroët had tried to set up sixteen years before. This one fact shows very plainly what platonism had lost in its fall from philosophy to fashion. Platonism, as it was understood by Michelangelo, by Vittoria Colonna, by Heroët, and by Margaret of Navarre, had early interested Du Bellay, but as he grew older, its petrarchistic poor relation, from which he gives no sign of distinguishing it, only aroused his contempt.

The closing stanzas of *Contre les Pétrarquistes* betray how entirely "natural" his conception of love had become, and yet as in the case of Ronsard, Du Bellay also met among the fair sex a reluctance to give up that transcendental homage to which the women of the Renaissance had grown accustomed:

De vos beautez je diray seulement  
Que, si mon œil ne juge folement  
Vostre beauté est jointe esgalement  
A vostre bonne grace,  
De mon amour, que mon affection,  
Est arrivée à la perfection  
De ce qu'on peult avoir de passion  
Pour une belle face.

Si toutefois Petrarque vous plaist mieux,  
Je reprendray mon chant melodieux,  
Et voleray, jusqu'au sejour des dieux  
D'une aile mieux guidée:  
Là dans le sein de leurs divinitez,  
Je choisiray cent mille nouveautez  
Dont je peindray vos plus grandes beautez  
Sur la plus belle Idée.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Heroët, *Parfaite Amye*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> A similar mood will be found expressed in the poem, "Du temps que j'étois amoureux," addressed to Olivier de Magny (*Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 327); and also in the "Élégie d'Amour" (*Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 339).

The first book of the *Erreurs Amoureuses* of Pontus de Thyard was published in 1549. It opens with an introductory sonnet to Scève, which shows that Pontus shared the early admiration of DuBellay for the platonizing poet of Lyons. "*Disgrace*,"<sup>1</sup> in which Pontus discourses on "Idée" is quite obscure enough for Scève; it begins thus:

La haulte Idée à mon univers mere,  
Si haultement de nul jamais comprise,  
M'est à present tenebreuse Chimere.

The general mood of these sonnets is the stereotyped heat and cold of conventional petrarchism, though Sonnet XLIV of Book I seems to indicate that the drift of Pontus' wooing, like that of Petrarch himself, was not entirely idealistic:

Ami (dit-elle, en visage amoureux)  
Je mettray fin à tes jours langoureux,  
Pour commencer tes bien-heureuses nuits.

But it would appear from other sonnets of the sequence that the promises of his lady remained unfulfilled. Pontus, like Petrarch, was forced into a purity of act, if not of thought. However, by the close of the first book he is so far converted to the intellectual view of love that he is able to pen a fairly convincing poem, "*De Chaste Amour*," toward the end of which a few lines run as follows:

Noz deux esprits d'une complexion,  
Sont eslongnez de toute passion,  
Passion qui tourmente:  
Vivans ainsi en ce mortel sejour  
Avec espoir, qu'au ciel leur grande amour  
Sera du tout contente.

The second book of the *Erreurs* appeared in 1550. Sonnet XII in its opening verses shows marked traces of the influence of platonism:

De quelle Idée ay-je peu retirer  
Le haut dessein de ma conception?  
Comme c'est peu toute perfection  
En un pourtraict, si vivement tirer?

<sup>1</sup>*Œuvres de Pontus de Thyard*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1873, p. 19.

In 1551 Pontus de Thyard, whom his subtilizing on love clearly interested, became evidently quite engrossed in the serious platonism which had preoccupied the immediate precursors of the school of Ronsard. For in this year he published a French translation of the *Dialoghi di Amore* of Léon Hébreu of whom mention has already been made in connection with Ronsard. This translation was not signed with Pontus' own name, but with his device, "Amour Immortelle."

Book III of the *Erreurs* appeared in 1554. In this third installment Pontus, though now a considerable dignitary in the church—an apostolic prothonotary—shows a tendency to leave behind him his platonic attitude. As Sainte-Beuve humorously remarks, the poet "avait abjuré ses erreurs de jeunesse pour l'évêché de Chalons."<sup>1</sup> Like Du Bellay, Pontus was becoming "natural." Sonnets I and XI are good evidence of this fact.

The platonic "Idea" reappears, however, in the fine, dignified fourth sonnet:

Père divin, sapience éternelle,  
Commencement et fin de toute chose,  
Où en pourtrait indeleble repose  
De l'Univers, l'Idée universelle:  
Voy de tes Raiz la plus belle estincelle  
Qui soit çà bas en corps humain enclose,  
Que la trop fiere impeteuse Parque ose  
Tirer du clos de sa cendre mortelle, etc.

In Sonnet VII Pontus speaks of his lady's spirit, which, he says, has come down from fairest heaven:

Du plus beau Ciel, ton esprit descendu, etc.

The concluding sonnet (No. XXXIII) of the third book of the *Erreurs* is distinctly platonic in tone. Perhaps it is not strange that the final note struck should be idealistic. The opening quatrain runs thus:

Mon esprit ha heureusement porté  
Au plus beau ciel sa force outrecuidée  
Pour s'abbreuer en la plus belle Idée  
D'où le pourtrait j'ai pris de ta beauté, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Sainte-Beuve, *Tableau de la Poésie Française et du Théâtre Français au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Paris, 1886, p. 92.

*Le Livre des Vers Liriques* was published in 1555. In the course of the poem "En Faveur de Quelques Excellens Poetes de ce Temps," Pontus makes flattering reference to Scève and Heroët. Alluding to the latter he writes:

Voyez encores l'Amour  
Qui heroiquement parle  
Souz Heroët, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The *Recueil des Nouvelles Œuvres Poétiques*, published in 1573 in connection with a general reimpression of Pontus' poetic work, contains an interesting piece of verse: "Elégie pour une dame, enamourée d'une autre dame."<sup>2</sup> The love of man for man is admitted to have been fairly common, and Pontus mentions a few historical examples. Perhaps the Renaissance was not without cases of its own of which Pontus could have spoken had he cared. Probably the friendship of Shakspeare and the young patron to whom the *Sonnets* are addressed will occur to one's mind.

The love, however, of a woman for a woman Pontus feels to be a much rarer thing and worthy of note. In the poet's phrasing of her feelings the lady protests:

Car jamais purité ne fust plus grande au Ciel,  
Plus grande ardeur au feu, plus grande douceur au miel,  
Plus grande bonté ne fust au reste de nature  
Qu'en mon cueur, où l'Amour a pris sa nourriture, etc.<sup>3</sup>

The work of Pontus de Thyard may be said, I think, to have been to a considerable extent touched by the influence of platonism. As in Du Bellay we meet tributes to Scève and Heroët. Thyard's reference to the case of love between members of the same sex is also to be noted. While he gives no evidence of distinguishing between petrarchism and platonism, yet a certain amount of his verse, together with his translation of Léon Hébreu, testifies beyond question to his several years' interest in platonizing theories.

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres*, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 191 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193.



The love poetry of Remy Belleau<sup>1</sup> is distinctly of two sorts: the conventional tone of the ordinary neo-petrarchistic sonnet, or else a note of frank "natural" voluptuousness.<sup>2</sup>

Belleau, it is to be remarked, did not begin to publish till 1556, by which time Du Bellay had reacted against platonism and Pontus de Tyard had ceased production. It is therefore not surprising to find scarcely any traces of platonism in his work. Perhaps a faint glimmer of the now unfashionable attitude may be discovered in the little poem "Dialogue," in which Amour explains to the passer-by who he is:

Passant, je ne suis nay de la folle Cypris  
Ny du fangeux Plaisir le neveu point ne suis,  
J'allume à la vertu les ames plus modestes  
Pour les guider au ciel dans les troupes celestes.

In the two volumes of Belleau's work there is a vast amount of love-reference, but it is all in the one strain—pure convention, or a quite "natural" delight in rolling under his tongue morsels of sensuous beauty.

It may, therefore, be said that platonism—at least in its serious, non-petrarchistic form—is practically absent from the work of Belleau.

The love poetry of De Baïf,<sup>3</sup> whether dedicated to the fictitious lady Meline,<sup>4</sup> to the flesh-and-blood woman he calls Francine, or as found in the *Amours Diverses*, is composed in the strict petrarchan phraseology, and so far as the serious platonism of the decade of 1540-50 is concerned, is for the purposes of this paper of little but of a negative value.

The most significant mood of Jodelle<sup>5</sup> in his attitude toward the love-theorizing of his time is his tendency toward reaction.

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, 2 vols., Paris, 1878.

<sup>2</sup> Examples of the former are innumerable. Cf. "Complainte du feu d'amour," Vol. I, p. 88; "Sonnet," Vol. I, p. 91; "À sa Maïtresse," Vol. I, p. 117, etc. Examples of Belleau's frankly sensuous—sometimes even sensual—attitude are also frequent; cf. "La Nuit," Vol. I, pp. 120 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, 5 vols., Paris, 1871-80. If the author puts forward the work as his own, his sources, in a quest like the present, are not important. Cf., however, in this connection, E. S. Ingraham, *Sources of Les Amours de Jean Antoine de Baïf*, 1905.

<sup>4</sup> *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 195.

<sup>5</sup> *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, 2 vols., Paris, 1870.

He mistrusts the love which has only "la vertu pour son but et son pris," and he looks on marriage as the happiest outcome of love:

Recherche qui voudra cet Amour qui domine,  
Comme l'on dict, les Dieux, les hommes, les esprits,  
Qu'on feint le premier né des Dieux, et qui a pris  
Eternellement soing de ceste grande machine:  
Dont l'arc, le trait, la trousse, et la torche divine  
N'a rien que la vertu pour son but et son pris,  
Sans passions, douleurs, remords, larmes et cris:  
Quant à moy je croiray que tel on l'imagine,  
Et qu'au monde il n'est point: quant aux faulses amorces,  
De l'autre aveugle Amour j'en despite les forces.  
Mais je croy si Amour avenu nous vient des Cieus,  
C'est lors que deux moitez par mariage unies  
Quittent pour l'amour vray, dont se paissent leur vie,  
Tout amour fantastique, et tout amour sans yeux.<sup>1</sup>

Surely it is clear that this sonnet contains a condemnation of both the platonic and petrarchistic variety of love; and the advocacy of marital love ranges Jodelle as entirely out of sympathy with the doctrines in which his fellow-members of the Pléiade, Du Bellay and Pontus de Thyard, had been for a time so interested.

Reaction against the conventional petrarchan mood is indeed frequent in Jodelle, and he even occasionally, in the style of Berni, burlesques the cut-and-dried sonnet addressed to the Laura of the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Generally speaking, therefore, it may be said that Jodelle has no sympathy for the love theories so current in French literature from 1540 to 1550.

. The work of Dorat,<sup>3</sup> the senior member of the Pléiade, is almost entirely of an occasional character, and from the point of view of this study is insignificant. He may therefore be dismissed with bare mention.

<sup>1</sup> Sonnet XXXIII, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> *Œuvres*, Vol. II; *Amours*, Sonnets XXXVII, XLI, XLIII, and Appendix, p. 340. Other proofs of the emancipation of Jodelle from the influence of any transcendentalism with respect to ideas regarding love may be noticed in his poems entitled: "*Chapitre d'Amour*," *Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 25 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1875.

The general result of this review of the work of the Pléiade—in so far as that work is concerned with the subject of platonism—seems to indicate, though all the members of that famous literary group—disregarding the negligible Dorat—dealt largely in petrarchism, that, apart from Du Bellay and Thyard, platonism had but little influence on them. Ronsard, Belleau, De Baif, and Jodelle are practically antipathetic to the transcendental love creed of a Castiglione or a Heroët.

As regards Du Bellay and Pontus de Thyard, it is evident that early in their poetical careers both were strongly under the influence of Heroët and Scève and considerably interested, especially about the years 1551 and 1552, in platonist ideas. Du Bellay, as we have seen, however, soon consciously and deliberately turned his back on platonism, and Pontus de Thyard early ceased to write. The momentum, therefore, of the intellectual movement initiated by the group, of which Margaret of Navarre had been the center, rapidly spent itself.

It is clear, however, that the members of Pléiade were in some respects not so revolutionary as is sometimes thought, and that indeed the literature they produced, though it flowered finely, was rooted to a considerable extent in that which immediately antedated it, and which the new school had officially condemned. It is worthy of note also that several of the gems of Pléiade verse owe their inspiration to the lofty conception of platonism—the theme par-excellence of the almost forgotten poetry which immediately preceded the work of Ronsard and his friends.

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## MEDIAEVAL LATIN LYRICS<sup>1</sup>

### PART I

Some five years ago I was industriously following the traces of German popular poetry whithersoever they led. With the customary guidebooks at hand to direct the journey, I walked the broad road that sweeps almost uninterruptedly from the lyrics of Heine, Eichendorff, and Uhland back through the *volkslieder* and *meisterlieder* of Reformation Germany to the earliest springtime of *mimesang*. But suddenly the trail which in its last stage had been growing somewhat indistinct vanished quite from view; strain my eyes as I might, I could yet find no further evidences of lyric production in Germany as I looked on backward to younger times—to the empire of the Ottos and of Charles the Great. It was as if some traveler had wandered musing to the edge of an emerald oasis, to be rudely awakened from his reverie by beholding the brown silence of the desert. A moment before all the forest-birds had been piping from their leafy nests, but now

Kein Vogel singt auf meinem Pfad,  
Ob meinem Haupte rauscht kein Blatt.

Turn back I would not—but how to go ahead? For some while all landmarks seemed to be lacking, and much time was lost in groping here and there in search of tangible beginnings. I soon had read all the theoretical expositions so conveniently listed by Schönbach<sup>2</sup>—theories that the German lyric had extraneous origins of various sorts, and that if one wished to learn of it before the year 1150 one must go far afield: either to France with Gaston Paris and Jeanroy, to Araby with Courthope,<sup>3</sup> or to the

<sup>1</sup> This paper was first presented to the English Club of Princeton University in February, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Anfänge des deutschen Minnesangs* (1898).

<sup>3</sup> Professor Burdach has announced a study, "Über den Ursprung des mittelalterlichen höfischen Minnesangs, Liebesromans und Frauendienstes," *Sitzungsber. d. k. preussischen Akad.*, Vol. XXVIII (1904), p. 933. He says: "The position of the lyrical court-poet and the conventional concept of love in the courtly literature of the twelfth century are a novelty which, although it does appear in the form of a fixed literary design, may yet not be derived from the earlier poetry of France and Germany, or from older tradition. The possibility is presented that Arabian court-poetry with its erotically colored panegyric in honor of ruling or highly placed women was a fruitful source of influence, together with the oriental romantic love-story."

early mediaeval churches and schools which finally achieved a graceful kind of profane Latin song by imitating the sacred songs or the classics. Most of all I was interested in the contention of Ernst Martin that a popularizing Latin *minnesang* had preceded its German model, but I hesitated to accept this thesis for two reasons: first, I did not believe Martin proved his point from the slender evidence of the Benedictbeuern MS alone—at least his proof could be made to read two ways;<sup>1</sup> secondly, it seemed strange that a Latin vessel should be the *ampulla* which held the baptismal oil of German lyric singing. I then believed, too, with Scherer that the Latin dress of a song effectually hid all traces of its immediate origin, and so would always reason: Why try to win mediaeval Latin lyrics for Germany as a popular and native expression, if we may never pierce the mystery of their birthplace? *Cui bono?*

Thus I came ever back to my starting-point at the edge of the desert. And there might I have remained, but for a certain doggedness of purpose<sup>2</sup> and for Wilhelm Meyer. I may say that the *Fragmenta burana* and his other writings on mediaeval rhythms have harmed rather than helped on many occasions, for keen and deep as they without exception are, they often lead one off into strange fields of speculation and of subjective reasoning. But this one thing they taught me: From the Latin poems of the Dark Ages and early Middle Ages we may derive a continuous story of lyric writing and singing by Germans in Germany. With Grimm

<sup>1</sup> For a history *ab ovo* of the discussion about the Latin and German songs in this MS, cf. Lundius "Deutsche Vagantenlieder in den Carmina burana," *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XXXIX (1907), pp. 330 ff. Lundius gives a convenient bibliography of this hundred years' strife among scholars, begun in 1807 by Docen.

<sup>2</sup> Because I could not forget Müllenhoff's compelling words when speaking of the *liebesgruss* of *Ruedlieb* (Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*<sup>3</sup>, Vol. II, p. 154): "This love-greeting should and must find a place in this collection as the oldest example of German *minne*-poetry. The teaching of Wackernagel and of Wilmanns that such love-songs, nay that the whole German lyric did not appear until the twelfth century does not, it is true, need such confutation (cf. Burdach, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 343; Meyer, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 121; Berger, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XIX, p. 440). It is sufficiently confuted by the nature of man himself, and by the realization that all poetry dwells in the sensation of the moment and is originally but a surrendering to it. There are early examples in German poetry of prayers, complaints, imprecations, and songs of mock and praise; how then should expression of the mightiest and most poetic impulse of all have failed until the year 1150 or 1160! The only new thing at this time is that love-poetry crowds more undisguisedly and luxuriantly to utterance, that it appears in the foreground, and becomes a distinguishing mark of the new era."

therefore I could now believe that the German lyric was an indigenous product.

The process of reasoning which finally determined this new faith was simple. (1) I found no German lyrics in Germany before the year 1150. (2) There must be lyrics of some sort in Germany before this time, or we have to regard one of the richest and the most subjective native expressions of the modern world as calmly pilfered overnight from France or elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> (3) Latin lyrics were current in Germany long before the year 1150. (4) Many of these Latin lyrics are just the sort of thing which was later written in German by Germans.

Now that my creed was once clearly defined, I had no doubt but that I could find confirmation and development of it in books. I knew that there were histories of early mediaeval literature in Europe written from the general view-point as well as from that of specific nationality. These I proceeded to read, but soon discovered that however excellent they might prove for the student of some particular author or monument they failed without exception to achieve grouped pictures of different men in connection with the history of a movement, or of different movements in their relation to the history of a form, such as the evolution of the drama, of the lyric, etc. In other words, I found a series of doctor's dissertations, school-programmes, and monographs—or an encyclopedia—where I had hoped for a story of early mediaeval literature—nowhere a ten Brink or a Scherer.<sup>2</sup> It was as if Gröber had said: If you find that I have failed to gather a single particle of waste in the Augaeon stables of mediaeval Latin writing, let my head be the forfeit. A wonderful *grundriss zur geschichte* this—like the work of Ebert and of Manitius—but we die while waiting for some poet interpreter of the Latin lyric of the Middle Ages. Of all men yet, perhaps Kögel has come

<sup>1</sup> Unless we believe that the lyric developed from an earlier undifferentiated poetry that was both lyric and epic. A discussion of this theory with complete bibliography pro and con may be found in R. M. Meyer, "Alte deutsche Volksliedchen," *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXIX (1885), pp. 122 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ferdinand Wolf longed for a history of mediaeval Latin poetry as long ago as 1841; cf. his *Über die Lais, Sequenzen und Leiche*, p. 231. The first real attempt to meet this demand is the anonymous study on "Mediaeval Latin Poetry," *Christian Remembrancer*, Vol. LII (1886), pp. 351-62, Vol. LIII, pp. 1-36; an investigation, unfortunately, which is based upon slender material and an insufficient knowledge of the sources.



nearest to interpreting the material rightly, despite the slurs of Winterfeld.

Even though no Daniel had come to judgment in this cause, I hesitated long before writing a single sentence relative to mediaeval Latin poetry. Conscious of the wicked irony which sparkles in the phrase of Forcellini—*totius Latinitatis lexicon*—aware that I had rummaged often enough through the folios of Du Cange to find myself still *sòle arbiter* of a lyric phrase, I contented myself with reading what others had done in the way of casual lightening of the burden imposed by poor texts and garbled diction, and where others were silent as to any one poem or set of poems, I occupied my time in doing what I might to penetrate the underbrush which so often hid the original meaning and form of such poetry. Thus I came to know specific works of Grimm and Du Méril and Wright, Pertz and Giesebrecht and Laistner, Dümmler and Wattenbach and Piper, Martin and Francke and Meyer, Traube and Hauréau and Gröber, Werner and Heyne and Winterfeld—to recite but a few of the scores whose names are not the least on the herald's list of scholarship in the field of mediaeval Latin poetry.

After examining this roster one might well believe that there was small reason for further writing on the subject of the lyric in the early Middle Ages; unless, that is, the new investigator would but stoop to pick up a seedling of knowledge left by some earlier gleaner in the fields of Boaz; unless he would fill at any cost—through some new and unimportant theory perhaps—the lean pages of his argument. Sensitive to the imputation of the last two sentences I have heretofore done nothing further in the way of public discussion than lay down tentative prolegomena such as those contained in a previous study on the origins of *minnesang*. But as time sped on and I found that others were neglecting that upon which I wished to insist—that others, often those whom I greatly respected, were preaching what was to me false doctrine—then I felt no longer bound to hold my peace. The field of the early mediaeval lyric may belong in a loose sense to the carefully trained scientist in classical forms, for it is all Latin. In another, and a truer, sense it may belong to the mediaevalist—for he

alone is cognizant of the multiplicity of tortuous meanings with which for some hundreds of years the mediaeval mind loved to encumber itself. But the mediaeval lyric belongs pre-eminently to the student of modern literary forms, for without a knowledge of it the modernist has an end without a beginning—he has the second term of an unintelligible ratio whose first term is  $x$ —he has the solution of some riddle that he has never heard.

It will be little strange if certain views arrived at below comport but ill with the findings of previous judges or juries. Any great expression which continues for centuries, as did the mediaeval Latin lyric, has, like some precious ruby, a hundred different facets. These catch and refract the light in myriad radiating arrows, depending upon the angle from which they are approached. My particular angle as stated at the outset is the one made by the German lyric and the Latin lyric at the point of their tangency. Of the former I can know nothing prior to *minnesang*, unless I treat of the latter. This knowledge is what has driven me to discuss, for purposes of my own, things about which I should otherwise never have come to speak.

#### POPULAR SONG AND SCHOOL POETRY

In the introductory words to his excellent study of Latin school poetry<sup>1</sup> Francke states that the school was the workshop where all mediaeval Latin poetry was made. For even the lyric, he says, the churchly and vagabond song, cannot be conceived of without the influence of such an environment.<sup>2</sup> To be sure, he continues, the lyric soon passed outside of the school and attained artistic forms all its own, in the service of and aided by worship and music. But on the other hand didactic and epic poetry were never able successfully to deny their original manner of coming into being.

I have only one quarrel with the foregoing statement—a statement which has often been repeated since—and that is that it

<sup>1</sup> *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Schulpoesie des xii. und xiii. Jahrhunderts* (1879).

<sup>2</sup> Marold likewise says (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XXIII [1890], pp. 2 f.): "Church song and learned school-poetry form the real soil from which the poetry of the goliards sprang." But he further remarks: "In consequence of their association with the people and the popular minstrels in France and Germany quite a number of communal elements penetrated their songs and with this qualification Schmeller is entirely justified in saying (*Carmina burana*, p. viii): "With good reason we claim a considerable part of mediaeval Latin poetry as our native possession."

excludes, I feel sure, one constant source of much that was best in the mediaeval lyric: *popular song*. I believe, that is, that we can conceive of vagabond lyrics aside from the influence of either church or school. Not for a moment do I doubt the all-important influence which these environments exercised upon the profane and popular lyric. But it is one thing to assert that the mediaeval Latin erotic lyric owed much to the church-hymn, to the religious inserts in the service of the church,<sup>1</sup> to antiphon and part-song, to trope, cantio, motet, and sequence; it is one thing to claim for the school tasks and the schoolrooms of the Middle Ages a great influence in shaping the form and themes of profane song; it is quite another thing to assert that we should never have had a rhythmic profane verse except for the pre-existent ecclesiastical and scholastic model. Great as was the impulse which cadence, rhyme, and stanza-structure of the religious lyric and school-poem gave to erotic song, there was another thing which often possessed still stronger attraction for it; and this was the native popular dance-song and lyric ballad written or sung in the vernacular language.

There is no need for us to subscribe entirely to the doctrine that the mediaeval Latin lyric owed its very existence first to the liturgy and afterward to the schools. Tropes, motets, and sequences were doubtless a fertilizing source of much of the later beauty and diction of profane song; schools of grammar and rhetoric did create ten thousand custom-made lyrics and ballads for the consumption of the laity. But when Gautier<sup>2</sup> and Meyer<sup>3</sup> insist upon the creed that these were the only source, they are

<sup>1</sup> I have often wondered when face to face with the awe-inspiring confusion of early mediaeval liturgical MSS, how scholars could attain the simple clarity of their present theory that these inserts were the "bio-germ" of Latin profane singing. Such MSS were often written as prose, and at times none may decide where one verse ends and another begins; every sort of meter and rhythm is represented in them; some MSS were written chiefly to preserve different melodies, and in these we frequently do not know whether the accompanying text comprises all of a song or only a single stanza of it; the texts may be from several different centuries, and of every possible description—deeply religious and scabrous, side by side; it is not always possible to determine the age of a MS, the country in which it was written, the purpose it aimed to fulfil, or the audience to which it was addressed. Unintelligible gaps occur to tempt the reader to emendation: erasures have been made, but we know not why: the same text appears in variant forms and ascribed to many authors. How may we then hold so simple a creed as that laid down in the opening sentence of this note?

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge*, Vol. I (1886).

<sup>3</sup> *Fragmenta burana* (1901).

setting forth an orthodoxy which requires from its adherents all faith, instead of all reason, for they may never conclusively prove their creed.

When Meyer, for instance, would adduce evidence that the sequence had won over profane poetry he cites the Cambridge songs of late tenth and early eleventh centuries.<sup>1</sup> From this group he reprints in sequence form the story of the "Snow-Child":

Advertite omnes populi ridiculum:

Et audite quomodo Suevum mulier et ipse illam defraudaret:

Constantiae civis Suevulus trans aequora:

Gazam portans navibus domi conjugem lascivam nimis relinquebat;

but he does not refer to the brusque five-syllabled verses of two narrative poems in the same MS: Alfrad and Heriger. The latter of these Jacob Grimm believed to be but the retelling in Latin verses of a German popular song on Archbishop Heriger (*floruit* 913-27). It is the droll tale of the man who ran off with a

<sup>1</sup> Traube once complained that Manitius did not understand Wilh. Meyer, but who may understand him at such a time as this? Now the story of the "Snow-Child" was famous among mediaeval entertainers and appears in many different forms (cf., for instance, Galfredus de Vinosalvo (*Poetria nova* vss. 724-28) Leyser, *G. de V. Ars poetica* (1724); Barbazon-Méon, *Fabliaux* (1808), Vol. III, p. 215; von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, Vol. II, p. 383; *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, Vol. IV, p. 75; *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vols. XIV, p. 472; XIX, pp. 119 ff., 240; *Deut. Nat. Liter.*, Vol. CCXXI, pp. 217, 235; Ebert, *Übertieferungen zur Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst der Vor- und Mitwelt* (1826), Vol. I, Part I, p. 80; Du Ménil, *Poésies populaires latines* (1843), p. 275; *Poésies inédites* (1854), p. 418; *Rheinisches Museum*, Vol. III, p. 331; Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*, No. XXI (3d ed.); *Coventry Mysteries* [ed. Halliwell, Shakspeare Society, Vol. II], pp. 140 f.; Cloetta, *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, Vol. I (1890), p. 106; *Fragmenta burana*, p. 174; Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXIX, Part 2, pp. 240, 303; Winterfeld, *Stilfragen*, p. 40, etc., etc.). Several times, at least, it took the shape of an epigrammatic quatrain:

Dum vir abest, puerum parit ejus adultera conjux  
Et reduci narrat, quod nive sit genitus.  
Hunc apud Ethiopes vir vendit, et illa requirit;  
De nive conceptum sol liquefecit, ait.

or again:

Conjux absente gravidata viro redeunte:  
Nixit in ore meo, sum gravis, inquit eo.  
Inde dolens multum puerum vir vendit adultum,  
Et dixit: Niveum sol liquefecit eum.

Why not therefore say that the epigrammatic quatrain had "won over profane poetry" and make the former a stepping-stone in the evolution of the latter, without which it could not come to be? Posit, that is, an epigram before every lyric, as if the one was the root from which the other flowered. None may ever tell, of course, just what the first form was that so popular a theme took: whether prose or verse. And we must remember that we likewise cannot reason surely in the case of other poems which are represented by a single MS alone. Just because these are handed down to us in a form which shows the influence of clerical workmanship we need not, we must not, imagine that the theme of the poem sprang from the church or lived only in the form which some church-poet or school-poet gave it. We can with safety ascribe to such poets only a part interest in the poem, and not the very fatherhood of it.

piece of liver.<sup>1</sup> More important still, Meyer omits to mention a tender lyric from the same MS which has no more essential connection with the sequence than it has with the moon; the *Verna feminae suspiria*:

Levis exsurgit zephyrus  
Et sol procedit tepidus;  
Jam terra sinus aperit,  
Dulcore suo diffluit.

Ver purpuratum exiit,  
Ornatus suos induit;  
Aspergit terram floribus,  
Ligna silvarum frondibus.

Struunt lustra quadrupedes  
Et dulces nidos volucres;  
Inter ligna florentia  
Sua decantant gaudia.

Quod oculis dum video  
Et auribus dum audio,  
Heû, pro tantis gaudiis  
Tantis in flor suspiriis.

Cum mihi sola sedeo  
Et haec revolvens palleo,  
Si forte caput sublevo,  
Nec audio nec video.

Tu saltim, Veris gratia,  
Exaudi et considera  
Frondes, flores et gramina;  
Nam mea languet anima.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bobertag, *Vierhundert Schwänke des xvi. Jahrhunderts*, p. 258; Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 81; Uhland, *Schriften*, Vol. VIII, p. 617; Kögel, *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 284.—Grimm's hypothesis was first stated in his *Lateinische Gedichte des x. und xi. Jhdts.* (1838), p. 343. In this connection Seherer says: "It does not occur to me to assert that German songs were the basis of the other stories and droll tales [the Latin *Modus Liebinc*, *Modus Florum*, Landfrid and Cobbo, Alfrad, found in the Cambridge MS]. But still, generally speaking, I do believe that this Latin minstrelsy is as truly a reflection of German *epielmannspoesie* as that the *Waltherlied* is derived from the German folk-epic." Cf. *Deutsche Studien* (1891)<sup>2</sup>, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jaffé, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XIV (1869), p. 492, and Winterfeld, *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV (1905), p. 26: "Soft blows the west wind and the sun draws warmly on; earth bares her breast and dissolves in her own sweetness. Ruddy spring comes forth dight in festal dress; he strews the earth with flowers and the forest trees with foliage. The beasts build their lair and the sweet birds their nest, piping their marriage-joys throughout the green woods. When such sounds and sights of gladness assail my ears and meet my eyes—alas my heart is given to sighing! For all alone I sit, brooding in study gray; if perchance

So sang a heart-sick girl (or some minstrel for her) about the year of grace 1000. There is nothing of the church or school about the song—nor yet aught of the stock phrase of classical imitation or minstrel cant. It is the formula as old as the hills, as wide as the breath of man: Earth rejoices; my love is dead. Winterfeld calls the poem a “jewel of the modern lyric that is just awaking.” I cannot see why it is necessarily modern, or why it is just awaking. It is mediaeval.<sup>1</sup> A girl is sick at heart, or supposed to be so.<sup>2</sup> Her love, or her baby, or her faith is dead. She says so simply and rhythmically. If she had been Alcuin or Wipo or Ekkehard we should have had a school-poem of it. She was herself. Let us be unsurprised.

I raise my head I may not see or hear. O spirit of spring, hear thou my prayer and dismiss it not; 'spite bloom and flower and verdure—my soul swoons within me!”

If this be not the very minting of popular poetry, what may it be? Not over thirty years ago a Tuscan boy sang as he trimmed a hedge, the first quatrain of a love-ballad so similar to this Latin plaint as to be almost identical:

La foresta di frondi s' abbella  
Et lo monte verdeggia, ed il prato.  
Al sorriso di Maggio bramato  
Aprè'l seno odoroso ogn' fior.

Cf. Busk, *Folksongs of Italy* (1887), p. 19.

<sup>1</sup>Symonds, who did not know this song but who did magnificent service for the lyrics of the *Carmina burana*, writes in his *Wine, Women, and Song* (1884, pp. 1 f.): “When we try to picture to ourselves the intellectual and moral state of Europe in the Middle Ages, some fixed and almost stereotyped ideas immediately suggest themselves. We think of the nations immersed in a gross mental lethargy; passively witnessing the gradual extinction of arts and sciences which Greece and Rome had splendidly inaugurated; allowing libraries and monuments of antique civilization to crumble into dust; while they trembled under a dull and brooding terror of coming judgment, shrank from natural enjoyment as from deadly sin, or yielded themselves with brutal eagerness to the satisfaction of vulgar appetites.

“It is therefore with a sense of surprise, with something like a shock to preconceived opinions, that we first become acquainted with the Latin Songs of the Wandering Students. This literature makes it manifest that the ineradicable appetites and natural instincts of men and women were no less vigorous in fact, though less articulate and self-assertive, than they had been in the age of Greece and Rome, and than they afterwards displayed themselves in what is known as the Renaissance.” A similar statement is made by Bartoli in the opening pages of his *I precursori del rinascimento* (1876).

<sup>2</sup>I am mindful of the folly of guessing the sex of the author of a mediaeval poem—a classical instance of which attaches to the *O admirabile Veneris idolum*, which was variously supposed to be expression of artistic fervor on the part of an old Roman who had dug up a statue; the prayer of a man to a saint; and the plea of a girl to a boy—until finally determined to be the simple *zadukov* of a Veronese schoolmaster. And so we may not know that a woman wrote this song, although the lines above quoted seem subtly feminine in imagery, just as the oft-cited verses on homesickness by Otfrid of Weissenburg (ca. 830) have the undeniably masculine ring (cf. *Ev.*, i, 18, vs. 25 ff.): *Vuolage élilenti! hárto bistu herti/etc.*—“O outland, thou art hard to bear, thou art beyond words unendurable, that may I never dissemble. With woe are they encompassed who give up their home; I have experienced the weight of it, no joy have I had of thee; in thee have I found no other weal than sadness of spirit, a troubled heart and manifold pain.”

When Gautier claims that the "poems attributed to Walter Mapes<sup>1</sup> and his sort" were all derived from churchly tropes, he contents himself with citing two songs: one to the courtesan Dulcia, the other of more "temperament and brutal passion":

Nutritur ignis osculo  
Et leni tactu virginis;  
In suo lucet oculo  
Lux luminis.  
Non est in toto saeculo  
Plus numinis.

Now I have taken Gautier at his word and sought where he directs: in the collection of Flacius,<sup>2</sup> in the *Carmina burana*, and in the songs ascribed to Mapes. I am sore puzzled to find how "*ces poésies sortent de nos tropes*." Some of them do evidently, because their form, context, content, and diction show such indirect origin at least, but then just as surely some of them do not. In other words certain songs are of scholastic and clerical workmanship, certain are popular. I shall treat of this at length in a later chapter of this study where I find some poems which contain every hint of being *volkslieder*, or of being imitated from popular songs.

To choose for the present but one of many, I turn to a song recently discovered by Vattasso—it is of the twelfth century and entitled *planctus monialis*:

Plangit nonna fletibus  
Inenarrabilibus,  
Condolens gemitibus,  
Dicens consocialibus:  
Heu misella!  
Nichil est deterius tali vita,  
Cum enim sim petulans et lasciva.  
Sono tintinnabulum,  
Repeto psalterium,  
Gratum linquo somnium  
Cum dormire cuperem,

<sup>1</sup> Were goliard songs ascribed during the thirteenth century to Walter Mapes because of confusion with that other Walter, also archdeacon of Oxford, from whom Geoffrey of Monmouth (1135-50) had his *Historia regum Britanniae*?

<sup>2</sup> I. e., Flacius Illyricus, *Varia doctorum piorumque virorum de corrupto ecclesiae statu poemata* (1556; reprinted 1754).



Heu misella!  
Pernoctando vigilo  
Cum non vellem.  
Juvenem amplecterer quam libenter.<sup>1</sup>

Amazingly rough in a way, and scarce worthy of printing but for one conspicuous fact. It is the old story of the Nun's Complaint found frequently in French *romance* and German *lied* from the thirteenth century on. It is imitated from some such popular poem without any doubt.

For, near as we should imagine such a theme to be to the poets of the church, the monastery, and the school, when we come to study the matter we find their treatment to be a very different sort. The twelfth-century songs of Hildebert<sup>2</sup> and Hilary<sup>3</sup> to nuns and about them are smooth *vers d'occasion*. Marbod<sup>4</sup> consoles a maiden dedicated to the cloister by picturing the happiness of a marriage with Christ; again, he encourages a girl with pedantic seriousness to adhere to her vows. From the same time we have the Love-Council of Remiremont;<sup>5</sup> we have the poetic letter of a monk to nuns,<sup>6</sup> written in jocose and fluent manner, warning them not to occupy themselves overmuch with the verses of Ovid as these are no prescribed part of the routine. In the thirteenth century we read the prayer of a nun to the Virgin<sup>7</sup> that she may be freed from the temptations of earthly passion—also the story of how the nun, forgetful of her vows, tried to seduce the clerk.<sup>8</sup> And as early as the tenth or eleventh century we have the fragment of a macaronic song (half Latin, half German) in which a clerk pleads with a nun to listen kindly to his wooing, for springtime is at hand and the earth is green anew.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Studi medievali*, Vol. I (1904), p. 124; MS Vatican 3,251; de Nollac, *Labibliot hèque de Fulvio Orsini* (1887), p. 195, n. 2; Novati considers the song *quasi certamente d'origine straniera*, although he gives no reason for this belief.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hauréau, *Les mélanges poétiques d'Hildebert de Lavardin* (1882).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Champollion-Figeac, *Hilarii versus et ludi* (1838).

<sup>4</sup> Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. CLXXI, p. 1717; Wright, *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, Vol. II (1872), p. 240.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vols. VII, p. 190; XXI, p. 65; Langlois, *Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose* (1891), p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Sitzungsberichte der bayr. Akademie* (1873), pp. 695 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Wiener Studien*, Vol. VI, p. 291.

<sup>8</sup> *Anzeiger f. Kunde d. deut. Vorzeit*, Vol. XXV (1873), col. 319; *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad.*, Vol. XXXVI (1861), p. 168; Hagen *Carmin media aevi* (1871), p. 206; *Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXIX (1880), Pt. 2, p. 249.

<sup>9</sup> "Cambridger Lieder," No. 32, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XIV (1869).

Such is the writing of mediaeval clerks and schoolmen when they deal with the nun either in fact or in fancy; graceful *minnelieder* like those of Hilarius to Bona and Superba, exhortations to chastity like Marbod's stiff attempts in leonine hexameters, or allusive (not to say suggestive) efforts to bring about a rendezvous with some plump novice. Nothing intense, no outcry of suffering, and a manner far removed from the popular. Even where as in the tenth-century song there is evident approach to the popular treatment for a moment, the whole ends stiffly with a moralizing touch. Let us dwell in passing with this poem. Grant me love, pleads the clerk, for the birds are singing in the woods. What care I for nightingale? demands the nun. I am the maid of Christ and have sworn to serve him singly. The lover returns to his task with unremitting urgency: But if you will only grant me love I will bestow upon you earthly honors and rewards. Thus the maiden: Such rewards pass away as the clouds are swept from the sky—the kingdom of God endures eternally.

So from tenth century to fifteenth did the poetasters of bench and cell deal with the nun. Not so popular minstrelsy:

La nonain se gaimentoit,  
Regardait aval un preit,  
Vit lou moinne qui venoit,  
Qui avoit son frot esteit.  
Longue demoree  
Faites, frans moignes loialz.  
Se plus suis nonette,  
Ains ke soit li vespres  
Je morai des jolis malz.

Thus a romance of the fourteenth century, and one of the thirteenth runs as follows:

Ki nonne me fist, Jesus lou maldie.  
Je di trop envis vespres ne conplies:  
J'amaixe trop muels moneir bone vie  
Ke fust deduissans et amerouse.  
Je sent les douls mals leis ma senturete.  
Malois soit de deu ki me fist nonnete.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS 389, City Library of Berne; cf. Wackernagel, *Altfranzösische Lieder und Leiche* (1846), p. 51; Bartach, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen* (1870), p. 28; MS franc. 20,050, Royal Library of Paris; Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France* (1904)<sup>2</sup>, p. 190.

But it is in the German *volkslieder* that we come closest to the spirit and even the phraseology of the *planctus monialis*.

Gott geb ihm ein verdorben jar  
Der mich zu einer nunnen macht!  
Soll ich ein nunn geworden  
Dann wider meinen willen,  
So will ich auch einem knaben jung  
Seinen kummer stillen.

And even more popular than this song was perhaps:

Ich solt ein nonne werden,  
Ich hatt kein lust darzu,  
Ich ess nicht gerne gerste,<sup>1</sup>  
Wach auch nicht gerne fru.<sup>2</sup>

A comparison of these and other *nonnenlieder* with the Vattasso song will convince one that the latter owes its spirit to the vernacular ballads and ditties having to do with the cloister, even though our earliest known example of such be from the thirteenth century. Popular tradition was as tenacious as school tradition at least; we find formulae in both continuing with identical verbiage for centuries. The fact that we have no vernacular popular song regarding the nun before the thirteenth century does not mean there was no such—in fact we have indubitable evidence that there was, just from the lines of this Vattasso song itself. The Latin dance ballad of the year 1019 discovered by Schröder was previously known to Du Ménil from the MS of an English translation of Grosseteste's *Manuel de pechie* (about 1400). And now we are able to add another popular Latin ballad of the same sort from the eleventh or twelfth century, in this *planctus monialis*.

More proof—and there is plenty—that there was a popular Latin poetry throughout the Middle Ages need not be adduced at just this point, as it would transcend the limits of the present purpose.<sup>3</sup> Suffice it to call attention to the study of Winterfeld's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. verse 44 of the Vattasso song: *e succis farinulae et caseo*.

<sup>2</sup> Uhland, *Volkslieder*, Nos. 328, 329.

<sup>3</sup> Just a word as to the famous *liebesgruss* from *Ruodlieb* which R. M. Meyer (I believe rightly) cited as a remnant of popular lyricality. It may not, to be sure, be a "relic of ancient communal poetry" simply because analogous love-messages are discoverable in Indian poetry—so far Meyer's critics may be justified in doubting. But no more need the *liebesgruss* in *Ruodlieb* be of learned origin, just because parallel passages can be found in the Bible, in classical Latin poets, and in mechanical hexameters of Carolingian versifiers

with which the next chapter deals, to a previous article of mine on the origins of *minnesang*, and to the further songs later on which I shall cite for one reason or another. I am content to establish merely the fact that there were throughout the Middle Ages two sorts of Latin lyric: one which was of the church and the school, no matter how far it finally developed from the form of its original birthplace; the other of the people and laity, whether written by them or by a homely minstrel for them.

We are now ready to review various doctrines which are maintained regarding the mediaeval song and singers, to determine if we may how far they help or hinder us in the enunciation of the fact that before the troubadours and the minnesingers there were Latin songs which were either themselves popular and widely disseminated, or which are *rifacimenti* of vernacular popular songs spread broadcast among the people. And first we may take up the theory of the mime.

#### THE MEDIAEVAL MIME

More than thirty years ago Scherer wrote his important statement of the rôle which the Italian mime played in the development of early German literature.<sup>1</sup> Little by little the conviction

(cf. Dämmler, *Mitteilungen der Züricher antiquarischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XII, p. 228; Liersch, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 154 ff.). The author of the first European novel need not have got his love-message from any of the three places above mentioned, nor even necessarily from a fourth place suggested by Kögel (*Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 139): viz., from a wandering student, nor from a fifth place, from the French love-greeting which Paul Meyer believed to have no connection with popular verses (*Le salut d'amour dans les littératures provençale et française*, 1867, p. 4; cf. also Diez, *Die Poesie der Troubadours*, 1882, p. 149). It may be the Latin adaptation of a German *volkslied*-stanza, or it may be the original labor of its writer. But whatever its immediate source, one thing it must be: the congener of scores of other popular songs such as we have documented a-plenty from later centuries (cf. Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*, Vol. II, p. 152); it is the very stamp of popular love-poetry even if it were first born at the moment of its writing. Let us acknowledge, if you will, that such verses as the following are of clerical workmanship:

Multipli Christus reddat tibi munera mitis,  
In me quot bonitas contulit ecce tua.  
Gramina quot tellus habeat, vel litus harenas,  
Tot, miserante deo, David, habeto vale;

but the *Ruodlieb* stanza has a different smack:

Die sodes illi nunc de me corde fideli  
Tantundem liebes, veniat quantum modo loubes,  
Et volucrum wunna tot sint, tot dic sibi minna;  
Graminis et florum quantum sit, die et honorum;

as has the popularizing love message in the *Carmina burana*, no. 82, despite its classical allusions:

Quot sunt flores in Hyblae vallibus,  
Quot redundat Dodona frondibus,  
Et quot pisces natant aequoribus,  
Tot abundat amor doloribus.

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung im xi. und xii. Jahrhundert* (1875), pp. 11 ff. Cf. also Grysar, "Der römische Mimus," *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad.*, Vol. XII, pp. 331 ff.

grew that after the fall of the Roman Empire the mimes spread northward throughout Germany bringing a new element to the life and literature which they found there. And so the picture took shape which represents the repertory and the art of the German minstrel in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the resultant of two forces: the lofty epic idealism of the Teutonic *scop*; the vulgar but contagious realism of the Italian *joculator*.<sup>1</sup>

There is something in this theory of continuance and new birth through the mingling of two elements, either of which might soon have proved sterile but for fructification from a new seed, which satisfies the imagination, so that we may not wonder at the quick adoption of it.<sup>2</sup> Germanists are now possessed of a thread which will lead them safely through the dim chambers of mediaeval centuries, as they seek for an explanation of hardly understood literary phenomena. Many of them cling therefore tenaciously to this tenuous cord, often in secret dread of its breaking, but openly smiling whenever the classicist is heard to demand that the Roman mime be dead along with the ashes of the empire which had cherished him. For does not your Germanist remember that this very empire led a shadowy but real existence into the nineteenth century? And why then, he asks, should these funmakers have yielded up their spirit just the moment that the fall of Rome opened to them new fields of effort.

Up to this point, then, those whose special study was mediaeval poetry were willing, oftentimes anxious, to accept the services of the exiled Italian mime in the fetching of certain lyric and dramatic forms from antiquity to the Middle Ages. Even those who believed there were many other agencies of transmission yet included the mime. Peddler and beggar, scribe and journeyman

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (1903), Vol. I, pp. 23 ff., and the bibliography there cited, which omits strangely enough any reference to Hertz's *Spielmannsbuch*? (1900), with its incomparable notes (pp. 315 ff.).

<sup>2</sup>In his review of Anderson's *Anglo-Saxon Scop* (*Anzeiger f. d. Alt.*, Vol. XXXI [1907], p. 114) Heusler propounds three matters which must be thoroughly investigated before we can gain an adequate picture of this early renaissance of minstrelsy: (1) How the old-style poetizing and harp-playing German vassal is to be separated from the *joculator*, the inheritor of southern culture; (2) How a historical poetry dealing with contemporary events affected heroic song; (3) In how far the poet-singer lived by his art, so that we can suppose there existed a professional practice of poetry in any strict sense. Not till these problems are at least partially settled should we speak too glibly of co-operation between *scop* and mime.

'prentice, vagrom monk and missionary, scop and soldier, tourist and student, artisan and hireling—in this freemasonry of travel the mime should surely hold high rank as propagator of entertainment, but should he be the only one who spun edifying yarns, who caroled snatches of song learned in many lands? A sorry sort of Canterbury pilgrimage, many thought, in which the mime was solitary pilgrim. And yet this is the very point of recent insistence.

The long-awaited book of Reich is come,<sup>1</sup> and with it a mime who like Alexander Selkirk is sole monarch of all he surveys. The concluding part of the work is yet unpublished, but there is sufficient in the first volume to occupy our attention. The mime, it seems, like the long-unsuspected bacillus, is everywhere. In places untrodden of Caliban and Ariel there lurks the mime—the whole spiritual world has become, as it were, mime and non-mime; to our convenient totalities of day and night, land and sea, time and eternity, a new unit has been added. Reich has had till now but time to hunt through twenty-eight or thirty centuries, and yet he has discovered that anything dramatic in the world's literature which is not to be termed "classic" or "classic imitation" is based upon the mime. The process of this argument is simple, but could such a dictum be pronounced except in a time when literary criticism is unduly influenced by purely speculative reasoning? Verily does it seem as if in the twentieth century Mercury and Philology have been remarried and every previous edict of divorce between them annulled.

If the words of the foregoing paragraph be true, why not pass Reich's book lightly by? Because, first, he has in his discussion of the Middle Ages really found an explanation for a definite expression in literature which is otherwise puzzling; second, he has succeeded in converting to his doctrine of an ever-present mime no less a person than Winterfeld.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Der Mimus: Ein Litterarentwicklungsgeschichtlicher Versuch*, Vol. I (1903).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Hrotsvits literarische Stellung," *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV (1905), pp. 48 ff.

I imagine that when the history of mediaeval philology is finally written the name of the late Paul von Winterfeld will shine more brightly than that of many another scholar to whom a longer life was granted and whose writings largely outnumber his. No other investigator in this field combined in so unusual a degree a severe training and a scholarly purpose with surety of instinct, brilliance of imagination, and rare poetic gifts. It would seem as if

This last is, I confess, a blow, the more so, because Winterfeld in the natural ardor of his new conversion does not stop midway in his claims, but says all that is best in the Latin artistic poetry of the Middle Ages, the best part of Notker and Roswitha, comes straight from the mime. He then proceeds to assert that the mime cultivated practically every form of literary expression known to mediaeval times and that he gave to each the impetus that brought it to its zenith.

It is at first difficult to find the fallacy which underlies much of Winterfeld's argument, but after some study two faults become clear. First, that the word "mime" is often used not only in a wide but in an evasive sense—discussion of this will be taken up in a following paragraph. Second, we discover that Winterfeld without reason and without proof claims for this mime things that quite evidently belong to someone else. Certain expressions which Winterfeld assigns to the mime were undoubtedly cultivated by him *sicut fabulae testantur et scurrarum cumpllices*: notably the short tale, the farce, the sequence devoted to profane matters, satirical poetry, the novel in hexameters, the dramatic skit, and some of the popular legends. There is small necessity for denying the minstrel his fair share in the purely popular grist of novelistic and narrative literature which preceded the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> At the same time it takes hardihood to deliver Notker and Roswitha so completely into his hands, to say nothing of the goodly company of story-tellers who must have found amateurish amusement in literature without using it as a professional means of livelihood.<sup>2</sup>

his death, coming so shortly before that of the better-known mediaevalist, Ludwig Traube, so soon after that of Ernst Dümmler, wrought irreparable injury to the cause of mediaeval Latin in the university world, where it was but beginning to be ardently espoused. One can but cherish the fond hope that these three did not depart before they had sown the seed of their strength in the hearts of a younger generation of students come to carry on their work.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to Winterfeld's article above cited, cf. *Modern Philology*, Vol. III, pp. 429-33.

<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps an unavoidable tendency, when chronicling the story of literature of any age, to insist overmuch on the ascendancy of certain groups of men as the makers of certain sorts of prose and poetry. We consequently are apt to visualize any particular generation of poetizing as the result of the efforts of some narrow guild or school. Thus a kind of German epic poetry we assign entirely during the older period to the *scop* or *vorsänger*; later to the *spielmann*. A kind of Latin lyric in mediaeval Europe goes first to the *minnesinger* and later to the *goliard*. Love-songs are given initially to the *minnesinger*, afterward to



Certain expressions, however, which belonged to another than the mime but which Winterfeld in his generosity surrenders to him are the hymn of victory, the ecclesiastical ballad, and the Carolingian eclogue. Of course some one poet or minstrel is to be presumed for any poem, and if one wishes he may dub such poet "mime." But there is in our minds an inferential connection of this word with *mimus*, meaning an Italian vaudeville performer, who, after the fall of the western empire, spread northward across Europe. And to assert that such a person necessarily composed the *Ballad of Fontenoy*, the *Victory of Pippin over the Avari*, the *Descent of Christ into Hell*, *Terence and the Delusor*, etc.—this is but to speak from the pulpit.<sup>1</sup> Not a shred of evidence is adduced that would convict this mime of the authorship of such matters, if he were haled before the court.

Let us examine the pretensions of the mime to the authorship of the eclogue, and choose this particular case not because it is the weakest one that Winterfeld sets forth, but rather, if my feeling is right, the strongest. In case we can return the verdict "not proven" on this count, I think the others too may stand dismissed.

The dramatic dialogue known as the eclogue was from the beginning, Winterfeld says, the child of the mime. The eclogues of the Syracusan poet Sophron were popular in tone and were performed before an audience. But, although modeled upon these, the eclogues of Theocritus and Herodas were highly artistic and without popular appeal; they were *kunstpoesie*. Now these

the meistersinger. Such a delivering of all the known material of a time to set classes or professions of people is only unwise in that it blinds our eyes to the fact that the poetry of any age is too complex in the weaving to be ascribed to a single order. Forgetful of this truth, we do not sufficiently try to establish distinctions between different sorts of poetry, since we think of them at any one moment as a single unit. And we thus lose often the thread of continuity which might otherwise lead us from one century to another.

A good illustration of such procedure, I believe, confronts us in our present study of mime and goliard. We speak of a certain large body of Latin poetry as if it were the sole product of their effort. This poetry thus becomes at once an artistic, artificial, almost professional matter, and we find difficulty in convincing ourselves, except after the most patient examination, that some of it at least was popular, sincere in feeling, with the stamp of the people's mint upon it. If there be the latter sort, as I am claiming, then this it was that forerun documented German *minnesang*, and not that other sort of polished *vers d'occasion* so commonly thought of when the mediaeval Latin lyric is mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> I must reserve for another occasion further study of "the Merovingian mime." The materials already gathered on this subject are too bulky to permit of presentation here.

were imitated in learned fashion by Virgil, Calpurnius, and Nemesianus, and we thus gain a new sort of eclogue—one that is not acted, but intended for reading only, *buchpoesie*. This, in a nutshell, is the story of such dialogue poetry before the fall of Rome.

In the eighth and ninth centuries we find six dialogue poems which with some violence may be grouped together as eclogues: the writings of Naso Modoinus, the debate between summer and winter, sometimes ascribed to Alcuin, the bucolic verses of Theodul (or Gottschalk),<sup>1</sup> the lively tilt between Terence and a *delusor*, Radbert's *Life of Adalhard*, and the *Life of Hadumod* by Agius. Now four of these eclogues are evidently but a learned imitation of the bookish poetry of Virgil, Nemesianus, etc., adapted to the local needs of the writers of the Carolingian renaissance; but two of them—the *Conflictus veris et hiemis* and the *delusor* are mimetic. The former of these two is naught but a Latinized version of the popular Germanic struggle between the seasons, which was often presented in costume; the latter Winterfeld assumes was acted and believes Terence to be but the literary representative of the mime—cursed and scolded and threatened by the *delusor* until he ran off the scene in fright. On the basis of this interpretation he assigns the poem to the repertory of the vaudeville performer.

Why should we believe Terence to be but the symbol of just that which he and his comedies were most opposed to, viz., the lascivious Roman vaudeville? I know of no possible ground for such an assumption. There is not a scrap of inward or outward evidence in connection with this poem, that it is anything other than just what it seems to be: a scoring of the poet Terence on the charge of looseness by some *delusor*. I believe Terence, in other words, to be Terence; but gladly should I learn who or what is meant by *delusor*; and on this point Winterfeld utters not a syllable.

To sum up: Winterfeld begins his discussion of the eclogue with a Syracusan poet who wrote popular eclogues about B. C. 440. He then deals with Sophron's imitators. When the Ger-

<sup>1</sup> If a clever surmise of Winterfeld's be right: θεός = Gott; δούλος = Schalk.

man empires are built upon the ruins of Rome, he says that the eclogue is dead but that the mime is alive. And then, because he finds a school-rendering into Latin of a German *streitgedicht* and a scene in which Terence is belabored by one whose motives we do not understand, he demands that a line of continuity be established for popular vaudeville from Sophron to the end of the ninth century. Should we not rather believe that the "mime" had nothing to do with the matter of the Carolingian eclogue, but that the scholars of this time made variations on the *ecloga* of Virgil, because they held with the palace academy that he was the greatest poet of antiquity?<sup>1</sup>

In reading the "arguments" of Reich and Winterfeld we are often confused by the way in which they use the adjective *mimetic* and the noun *mime*. Great care must be taken not to regard these terms as interchangeable. Mimetic material may at any time become actually a mime—just as dramatic material may at any time become a drama. But while such a *streitgedicht* as that between summer and winter might conceivably become a thoroughgoing mime by the infusion of a certain known element or two, it never did become mime so far as we know, any more than it becomes drama. And while there is a certain knock-down humor in the *delusor* poem which allows us to dream with Winterfeld that the figure of Terence did wear the comic mask of the vulgar actor and did set his audience into spasms of uncontrollable laughter with his caperings and his mouthings, there is not a particle of evidence that the poem was acted at all. And as to Sophron: why rattle his dry bones to attract attention to a mediaeval poem?

Who and what is this mime, this lord of hosts that confronts us in a hundred forms? Well, *mimus*, it seems, is both a mimetic performance and a mimetic performer—both vaudeville skit and vaudeville artist. Do we not now begin to understand how so wide a sphere of influence may be claimed for mime? And in the Middle Ages the term was measurably widened until it

<sup>1</sup>The Carolingian poets assiduously imitated every classical model that they knew. Why then should we seek a special explanation if we find that they copied the eclogue form? Or why should we call a popular *streitgedicht* an eclogue merely because they are both dialogue poems?

betokens any stunt (the word is used advisedly) or turn that can wheedle a laugh, a sigh, or a tear from the audience; until it means any function of the mimetic performer, no matter how meretricious or venal, just so that it entertains. Mime came thus to be synonymous with the modern vernacular "show," as employed by careless youth to denominate anything from a church sociable to a football game. In neither case are we to debate what correct usage prescribes concerning the two words; we are merely to read mediaeval records pertaining to the word *mimus*. And the *mimi* of these records when referring to persons can often not be translated by a less wide term than "artists" or "players," for they comprised musicians of every kind, trapeze-performers, acrobats, singers, slackrope walkers, tumblers, knife-throwers, contortionists, clowns, merry-andrews, pantomimists, dancers, jugglers, sleight-of-hand workers, harlequins, buffoons, bear-leaders, monologists—until because of the narrow view-point of the ascetic churchman the word finally came to connote confidence men, pickpockets, shell-workers, second-story men, outcasts, guzzlers, lechers, *et cetera ad infinitum*.<sup>1</sup>

The crux is solved. The mime it was that influenced all the popular themes of the Middle Ages, that is at work today as "the basis of all themes in the world's literature not designedly classic;" for we have found by studying the documents that mime means almost anything that we have no other name for. It is the old story over again. A word is evolved by someone and restricted to a certain specified meaning; then following generations come to widen the term's horizon to suit their own sweet whim. In discovering their sort of "mime" Reich and Winterfeld have but displaced other words, one of which is the adjective "romantic."

Herzog says without doubt too peremptorily: "The *mimi* and *joculatores* of the dark occidental Middle Ages had nothing to do with the ancient mime."<sup>2</sup> For they comprised, so far as we

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Glock "Über den Zusammenhang des römischen Mimus und einer dramatischen Tätigkeit mittelalterlicher Spielleute mit dem neueren komischen Drama," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Literaturgesch.* (1905), pp. 25-45, 172-93. For the various Latin synonyms of *mimus* cf. Gautier, *Les épopées françaises*<sup>2</sup> (1892), Vol. II, pp. 10 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Bertiner philologische Wochenschrift* (1904), No. 34.

may ever know, much the same sort of profession. But even if they did the very same sort of thing, they did it so differently that comparison is unwise. By this I mean that the entertainers in mediaeval Europe may conceivably be the very descendants of the entertainers ages before in Italy; but we shall certainly learn what they meant to the life of their time better by studying them in cross-section than longitudinally.

There remains a most important matter in connection with the Latin mime or minstrel, viz., his influence on the musicality of lyrical ballads previous to the twelfth century. I reserve statement of this for a later paragraph.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE GOLIARDS

As early as the tenth century perhaps, but quite certainly as early as the eleventh,<sup>2</sup> we know that the goliards were composing and singing Latin verses. I do not think it necessary to believe with Giesebrecht that the goliard movement originated in the schools of France during the twelfth century,<sup>3</sup> but it may be well to imagine that it was there and at that time that the movement gained its greatest impetus and its widest currency.

The young universities of Bologna and Salerno, founded partly on the private academies of the older grammarians and teachers of rhetoric, partly on the cloisters and canonical schools,<sup>4</sup> attracted during the twelfth century large numbers of students (clerks) who would learn jurisprudence and medicine. But at the same period clerks from every country of Europe poured into northern France to learn dialectic and theology, grammar and rhetoric, at the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra*, pp. 50 f.

<sup>2</sup> It seems unnecessary to go into the question of the councils which make for the earlier of these two dates; cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 61; Allen "Origins of German Minnesang," *Modern Philology*, Vol. III, p. 18; Traube's review of Manitius' *Amarcius* (*Anzeiger f. deutsches Altertum*, Vol. XV [1889], p. 200), from which I quote: "When this *jocator* of the eleventh century (ca. 1050) begins his performance with a song about Goliath (*Amarcius*, 439: *straverit ut grandem pastoris funda Goliath*), we discover here material which has been really treated by others of his kind. This material either came later to determine the title 'goliardus' or this name was already in vogue and caused the minstrels to set up a connection of it with Goliath." See especially, however, Manly, "Familia Goliae," *Modern Philology*, Vol. V, pp. 201 ff.

<sup>3</sup> "Die Vaganten oder Goliarden und ihre Lieder," *Allgemeine Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur* (1853), pp. 10 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Giesebrecht, *De litterarum studiis apud Italos primis mediæ ævi sæculis* (1845), pp. 15 f.

French schools, which ranked little, if any, lower than the Italian institutions. Paris was considered the fount of worldly wisdom, and we are told that Athens and Alexandria in their palmy days contained not so many searchers after knowledge. Rheims and Orleans shared in lesser measure the reputation of their greater sister.

Now this was just the sort of environment which we imagine most favorable for the birth and spread of a certain fashion of goliardic poetry.<sup>1</sup> Even were we prone to doubt that such a soil produced hundreds and thousands of school-poems, the opposite would be shown true by a mere examination of the records. Peter of Blois, Stephan and Bertier of Orleans, and Walter of Chatillon<sup>2</sup> were known for their Latin lyrics of the lighter manner. Fulbert of Chartres, Marbod of Rennes, and Arnulf of Lisieux declaimed of spring and wine, although generally in metrical lines; Abelard,<sup>3</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux,<sup>4</sup> and Hildebert of Tours wrote *vers d'occasion*, emulating the graceful diction of Ovid and Horace.<sup>5</sup> And a presumable peer of any spark in wit and elegance was young Hilary.

Scarcely were such poems born before they fled across the Channel with the returning English students to become the marvel

<sup>1</sup> For the picture of a like materialistic age when satirical and erotic songs may well have existed among the lower *clerici* read of the tenth century in Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought* (1884), pp. 79 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the poem on scholastic studies in Wright, *Anecdota Literaria* (1844); also Müldener, *Die zehn Gedichte Walthers von Lille* (1859); and Hubatsch, *Die lateinischen Vagantenlieder des Mittelalters* (1870), p. 8:

Inter quos sunt quatuor rhythice dictantium,  
Qui super hoc retinent sibi privilegium:  
Stephanus flos scilicet Aurelianensium  
Et Petrus qui dicitur de castro Blecensium.  
Istis non immerito Berterus adjicitur,  
Sed nec inter alios apte praetermittitur  
Ille quem Castello latere non patitur,  
In cuius opusculo Alexander legitur.

Cf. also the famous phrase of Walther: *perstrepuat modulus Gallia tota meis*; Peiper, *Walther von Châtillon* (1869); Bellanger, *De magistro Gualthero ab Insulis* (1877); Thurot, *Revue critique* (1870) I, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> "Quorum etiam carminum pleraque adhuc in multis, sicut et ipse nosti frequentantur et decantantur regionibus, ab his maxime quos vita similis oblectat." "Amatorio metro vel rhythmo composita reliquisti carmina quae, prae nimia suavitate tam dictaminis quam cantus saepius frequentata, tuum in ore omnium nomen incessanter tenebant." The first of these statements is Abelard's own, the other that of Heloise; *Abaelardi Opera*, pp. 12, 46, and DuMénil, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (1847), p. 422.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the long statement in Berengarii, *Apologeticum Abaelardi*, regarding the *cantiunculas mimicas et urbanos modulus* of young Bernard. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. CLXXVIII; Hauréau, *Des poèmes latins attribués à S. Bernard* (1890), pp. iii f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hauréau, *Mélanges poétiques d'Hildebert de Lavardin* (1882).

of those who had not had the means or the initiative to go abroad to learn. And these songs were copied, and imitated, and put forth often in new guise, as their presence in many English manuscripts bears witness. Soon came the great popular movements in England during the end of the twelfth and the earlier half of the thirteenth centuries to give added impetus to the dissemination of such poems, and the result was manifest in hundreds of congeners remarkable for pungency of satire and sprightliness of composition.<sup>1</sup> Italy also shared in the writing of similar verses, although these poems are of a more ascetic sort, and have to do with civil and churchly matters.<sup>2</sup> And many indications point clearly to the share that Germany took in the movement.<sup>3</sup>

It is generally believed that vagrant clerks and dissolute students composed a great part of the body of mediaeval Latin lyric from the eleventh or twelfth century on.<sup>4</sup> And perhaps

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Wright, *Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes* (1841), p. v.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Straccali, *I Goliardi ovvero i clerici vagantes delle Università medievali* (1880) pp. 59 ff.; Ronca, *Cultura medioevale e poesia latina d'Italia nei secoli xi e xii* (1892), Vol. I, p. 255; *Studi medievali*, Vol. I (1904), p. 119.

<sup>3</sup>It will suffice to quote one of the various poems which deal with study in France—this time evidently sung by a Swabian lad on his way to Paris:

Hospita in Gallia	Vale, dulcis patria,
Nunc me vocant studia.	Suavis Suevorum Suevia!
Vadam ergo;	Salve, dilecta Francia,
Flens a tergo	Philosophorum curia!
Socios relinquo.	Suscipe discipulum
Plangite discipuli,	In te peregrinum,
Lugubris discidium	Quem post diem circulum
Tempore propinquo.	Remittes Socratinum.

Cf. *Zeitsch. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. V, p. 296; Laistner, *Goliard: Studentenlieder des Mittelalters* (1879), p. 53; Meyer, *Fragmente burana* (1901), p. 180.

It is my belief that the supreme evidence of Germany's part in the Franco-Latin lyrical renaissance of the twelfth century is found in the Cologne archpoet's unforgettable productions. But I doubt if the tangled skeins of the *archipoeta-Goliard* controversy will ever be unraveled before a new Revelation comes. Those who care to become entangled in the discussion regarding the paternity of the great mediaeval poet may consult with profit Wright, *Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, London, 1841; J. Grimm, *Gedichte des Mittelalters auf König Frederick I.*, Berlin 1843; Wackernagel, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. V (1845), pp. 293 ff.; Giesebrecht, *Allg. Monatsschrift f. Wiss. u. Lit.*, Braunschweig, 1853; Bädinger "Über einige Reste der Vagantenpoesie in Österreich," *Wiener Sitzungsberichte* (1854); Delisle, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, Vols. XXIX (1868), pp. 596 ff.; XXXI, pp. 303 ff.; *Annuaire bulletin d. l. Société de l'Histoire de France* (1869), pp. 139 ff.; Hubatsch, *Latinoische Vagantenlieder*, Görlitz, 1870; Hauréan "Un manuscrit de la Reine Christine," *Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXIX, Pt. 2 (1880); G. Paris, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes* (1889), pp. 258 ff. Langlois "La littérature goliardique," *Revue bleue*, Vol. L (1892); Santangelo, *Studio sulla poesia goliardica*, Palermo, 1902; Spiegel, *Der Ursprung des Vagantentums*, Würzburg, 1888, *Die Vaganten und ihr Orden*, Schweinfurt, 1902; W. Meyer, *Göttinger Nachrichten* (1907), pp. 75 ff., etc.

<sup>4</sup>Not so Wilh. Meyer (cf. "Die Oxford Gedichte des Primas," *Göttinger Nachrichten Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1907, pp. 76, 83): "Others held the opinion that these Latin songs were composed by students or runaway monks or clerks who were without means and often much



they did, at least in so far as this lyric concerns the more artistic ballad pieces and satires so well known to us;<sup>1</sup> poems full of classical reminiscences, with interlacing rhymes, and artistic in structure. We may imagine if we will that an endless chain of peripatetic minstrels wandered forth from school and monastery, gaining their precarious bread by the tireless recitation of erotic poems.<sup>2</sup> I confess that this does not quite win my credence,

demoralized and degenerate. They are supposed to wander about the country (*Vaganten*) and find precarious support from day to day by the generous gifts they elicited through the singing of Latin songs. Thus is our literary history gradually come to the odd view that profane mediaeval poems in Provençal, French, and German were written chiefly by noble people, but the Latin ones by tatterdemalions (*Lumpen*).

"But, generally speaking, it is to be hoped that critics will finally cease referring the mediaeval Latin songs, particularly those that treat of wine, women, and gaming, on the one hand to a single poet such as the scholarly Walter of Châtillon, or on the other hand to beggarly vagabonds. These songs are, to be sure, composed by persons well versed in the Latin tongue, but such people were at that time the intellectual flower of Germany, France, and England. Above all, the majority and the most ardent of these lyrics we certainly owe to the young students. But at that period, as at all times, many older men as well, ecclesiastics, jurists, physicians, loved poetry and contributed many a flower to the rich garland of mediaeval Latin verse. Teachers of Latin were pre-eminently called to such a task, teachers of elegance of style and of poetry, for which poets professional poets were best adapted; and in such a company the *Primas* (Hugo of Orleans) seems to belong."

I confess I do not just grasp Meyer's reasoning. He is willing to concede that young students and older clerks wrote the songs, but objects to assigning them to beggarly and dissolute monks and clerks. These deprecatory adjectives have been so largely used by critics when speaking of the authors of some of these songs, because the themes of them presuppose rather graceless people, and because we are constantly advised that the young students and clerks were anything but a quiescent and moral lot. Parodies on hymns and masses, sodomitic allusions and pederastic pieces, odes to sexual intercourse, scoffing at calendered saints, begging for hats, coats, and trunks wherewith to cover nakedness, riotous drinking-songs, macaronic ditties with the nastier half in the vernacular tongue; blasphemy, braggadocio, and bluff! Would Wilh. Meyer have us believe these the carefully prepared pieces of quiet souls? And who may persuade us that runaway monks and scampish clerks were not possessed of even more flashing mental brilliancy than those who stayed within the walls of cell and study?

<sup>1</sup>I am not here discussing, nor thinking of, the greater pieces associated with the names of Goliás, Archipoeta, and Primas. For such genial and learned endeavor one or more scholars of unusual attainment must be posited, whether Mapes, or Serlo, or Walter, or Alanus, or Philip of Grève, or Hugo of Orleans—or another like them that we shall probably never know. Nor am I thinking of other larger and student-lamp-erudite pieces. I have in mind the real lyrics and shorter ballads, and pungent satirical bits such as could be and would be sung today, if a real understanding of the original texts and melodies might come to us.

<sup>2</sup>These vagabond students and clerks need not always (or even often) have been the authors of the pieces they sang and recited. In a sense these lyrics were *volkslieder*—or popularizing songs at any rate. *Schnaderhüpfel* sung by peasants in southern Germany today have been the product of poets like Castelli and Stelzhammer; folk-songs which a nation industriously hums, frequently without thought of their authorship, spring from Goethe, Uhland, Heine, Eichendorff, etc. This may well have been somewhat the state of things in mediaeval Europe. As romantic poets of recent days write *kostümlieder* by the thousand, songs full of wandering minstrels, postillions, miller-lads, huntsmen, etc., so doubtless did certain professional poets of an older age turn off roundelays and madrigals having to do with clerks and students and their adventures in foreign climes.

for this theory seems based overmuch upon the belief that in the twelfth century and thereafter none but professional students of one sort and another could write, ape, or understand Latin verses. But we may let this current doctrine pass, although before it be accepted fully more conclusive proof should be demanded.<sup>1</sup>

There was presumably never an *ordo vagorum*—a close-knit fraternity of goliards. Such a thing is hinted at in but few songs and in such a way as to suggest a waggish jest and not sobriety. We know, too, that there were orders of all kinds promulgated by mediaeval literature as a fling at the different monastic orders. There was, for instance, an *ordo stultorum*, but who would imagine that the twenty-seven classes of its membership really set sail in the *narrenschiff* for Narragonia! The *Liber vagatorum* tells us of an order of beggars that had twenty-eight kinds of tramps.<sup>2</sup> Then there was the Ass's guild with its varying badges and insignia to show the world what an Independent Order of Odd Fellows it boasted of. There were many sorts of mock religious orders, like those in the *Land of Cockagne* and in other popular poems,<sup>3</sup> but who would claim a real existence in fact for them? In other words a joke is a joke, even if it be misunderstood; and it seems strange that nothing less than trephining may convince some that there never was a guild of goliards.

Then certain others still believe bishop Golias to be a historical person and perhaps will continue in this faith, even after reading Mr. Manly's recent relegation of him to the Old Testament.<sup>4</sup> But surely if he did live again in mediaeval times he was nearly related to the *abbas cucaniensis* and to the *praesul concu-*

<sup>1</sup> In his *Dark Ages* Maitland is over on the track of such cocksure orthodoxy. Cf. p. 32 of his book (5th ed., 1890), where he demands evidence for the flat statement of Robinson: "During the ages we are contemplating persons of the highest rank and in the most eminent stations could not read or write." Now, as a matter of fact, Latin songs of a light variety may have thriven more widely and earlier than is commonly supposed because (1) as presented by the minstrel they were undoubtedly aided by gesture, vernacular interpolation, pantomime, and dance; (2) these songs would be patiently listened to even by audiences blissfully ignorant of their meaning, much as German, French, and Italian pieces are eagerly heard by "musicale" gatherings today.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ave-Lallement, *Geschichte des deutschen Gaunertums* (1858).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for example Nos. 209 and 210 in Uhland's *Volkslieder*:

Wir wollen ein klösterlein bauen  
von lauter schönen jungfrauen;  
ein solcher orden wollen wir han, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. "Familia Goliae" in *Modern Philology*, Vol. V, pp. 201 ff.

*caniae*,<sup>1</sup> of whom he once begged a mantle. He belonged, then, to the same court as that which harbored the *prince de sots* and the *roi de ribauds*—being perchance their chaplain. He served indifferently the *king of harlottes* and the *roi petaud* and lived for some years in the *empire de Galilée*. His spiritual master must have been the *papa scholasticus*, his sister in the flesh was the *abbess of Avignon brothels*, and the parentage of the *boy bishoppe* may well be ascribed to him. Once when on a pilgrimage of state he was royally received by the queen of Geneva trulls.<sup>2</sup>

But if the Latin minstrels of the eleventh and twelfth centuries did not constitute a guild, they are still imagined by many to be ever upon the march. They studied jurisprudence at Bologna, medicine at Salerno, dialectic at Rheims, grammar at Orleans, and theology at Paris.<sup>3</sup> The face of Europe was dotted with teachers of rhetoric and the roads leading to their schools were black with graceless students wending their way thither—perhaps. But while there is an evident connection between some, even much, of mediaeval literature and such clerks, there is no need of insisting upon such a connection in the case of many Latin songs. Many lyrics were composed by scholars, many more were not. Every learner was not a minstrel any more than every minstrel was a learner. Below I am going to differentiate with what sharpness I may between goliardic poetry and popular Latin poetry. Meanwhile it is doubtless best to pause and see what can be done to rectify the general impression that the Latin lyric is a great insoluble mass, a corporate entity from which one cannot detach certain groups to study as examples of national expression.

Suppose we begin by dividing this mass into three parts, labeling one *Religious and Didactic*, another *Satire*, and the third *Ballads of Love, Spring, and Wine*. With some study of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Carmina burana* (1847), No. 196; and the *Ridmus episcopi Gullii* (Werner Beitr. z. Kunde d. lat. Lit. d. MA.<sup>2</sup> [1905], p. 205). On the whole subject of the land of Cockagne see Graf, *Miti, leggende, e superstizioni del medio evo*, Vol. I (1892), pp. 229-38.

<sup>2</sup> He who would learn more of these "historical" prelates and potentates may consult Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*<sup>2</sup>, p. 338.

<sup>3</sup> Or, to quote the caustic monk of Froimont (12th century): "In Paris these scholars seek liberal arts, in Orleans authors, at Salerno gallipots, at Toledo demons, and in no place decent manners." (Cf. *Biblioth. Cisterc.*, Vol. VII, p. 257.)

material it will be discovered that such a classification has a real existence in fact.

This division, to be sure, excludes much: for instance, narrative and epic poems on ancient subjects, such as the Fall of Troy or the deeds of Alexander; pseudo-historical records of the *gesta* of secular and churchly notables; rhyming prose devoted to the praise of continence, chess, mathematics, early-rising, grammar, and quasi-scientific study; alphabetic stanzas, acrostics, centos, catalogues of birds and beasts, epigrams, epitaphs, glosses, riddles, versified letters—in fact the most stilted poetry of the school routine; poetry forged when it was cold and beaten into shape with a hammer; verse which is the vehicle for every farrago of mediaeval nonsense; folderol of magic, incantations, natural history games, long descriptive pieces such as the *conflicti*. These and all their like are exempt from our treble division—but who would denominate them lyrics? They are void of the personal appeal and of all immediate interest. They describe no living scene, are without local color, have no *esprit de place*. They have about as much atmosphere as a Leyden jar. We might as well hunt for seventeenth-century Italy in the *Adriatische Rosamund* as seek aught of mediaeval Europe in the withered moss of such strophes. Such poetry as this—if poetry it be—Scherer is brooding on when he says all traces of its immediate origin are hid, but it is not the Latin garb in which it is clothed that hides the source; rather because it is the offscouring of dulness, the vaporizing of empty minds.

True to the tenets elsewhere expressed, I believe it desirable to effect a separation of the mediaeval Latin lyric material according to theme and manner of treatment, rather than according to difference in external form. The customary division into metric on the one hand and rhythmic on the other does not appear necessarily distinctive, for our present purpose, at least. A lyric is surely no less a lyric whatever its outward guise. Who would dismiss Fulbert's spring-song from an anthology of mediaeval verse because of its conventional scaffolding?

When the earth, with spring returning, vests herself in fresher sheen,  
And the glades and leafy thickets are arrayed in living green;

When a sweeter fragrance breatheth flowery fields and vales along,  
Then, triumphant in her gladness, Philomel begins her song:  
And with thick delicious warble far and wide her notes she flings,  
Telling of the happy springtide and the joys that summer brings.  
In the pauses of men's slumber deep and full she pours her voice,  
In the labor of his travel bids the wayfarer rejoice.  
Night and day, from bush and greenwood, sweeter than an earthly lyre,  
She, unwearied songstress, carols, distancing the feathered choir,  
Fills the hillside, fills the valley, bids the groves and thickets ring,  
Made indeed exceeding glorious through the joyousness of spring.<sup>1</sup>

Who would care to suppress from any discussion of the lyric during the Middle Ages the following two poems written four centuries apart, one by Alcuin or Fridugisus, the other by Marbod of Rennes, both of which treat of the healing influences of nature—a theme so common in modern art. Smoothly enough runs on the first:

O mea cella, mihi habitatio dulcis, amata,  
Semper in aeternum, o mea cella, vale.  
Undique te cingit ramis resonantibus arbos,  
Silvula florigeris semper onusta comis.  
Prata salutiferis floreant omnia et herbis,  
Quas medici quaerit dextra salutis ope.  
Flumina te cingunt florentibus undique ripis,  
Retia piscator qua sua tendit ovans.  
Pomiferis redolent ramis tua claustra per hortos,  
Lilia cum rosulis candida mixta rubris.  
Omne genus volucrum matutinas personat odas,  
Atque creatorem laudat in ore deum.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cum telluris, vere novo, producantur germina,  
Nemorosa circumcirca frondescunt et brachia;  
Fragrat odor cum suavis florida per gramina,  
Hilarescit Philomela, dulcis sonus conscia:  
Et extendens modulando gutturi spiramina,  
Reddit veris et aestivi temporis praeconia.  
Instat nocti et diei voce sub dulcisona,  
Soporatis dans quietem cantus per discrimina,  
Necnon pulcra viatori laboris solatia.  
Vocis ejus pulchritudo clarior quam cithara;  
Vincitur omnis cantando volucrum catervula;  
Implet silvas atque cuncta modulis arbustula  
Gloriosa valde facta veris prae laetitia.

For appreciative discussion of this and Marbod's song, cf. Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*<sup>3</sup> (1874), pp. 47 ff. The translation is by J. M. Neale; cf. his *Mediaeval Hymns and Sequences* (1863).

<sup>2</sup> *Poetae aevi Karolini*, Vol. I (1881), ed. Dämmmler, p. 243.

More awkwardly versified is the other, but a deeper earnestness veins it:

Moribus esse feris prohibet me gratia veris,  
Et formam mentis mihi mutuor ex elementis.  
Ipsi naturae congratulor, ut puto, jure:  
Distinguunt flores diversi mille colores,  
Gramineum vellus superinduxit sibi tellus,  
Fronde virere nemus et fructificare videmus;  
Egrediente rosa viridaria sunt speciosa.  
Qui tot pulcra videt, nisi flectitur et nisi ridet,  
Intractabilis est, et in ejus pectore lis est;  
Qui speciem terrae non vult cum laude referre,  
Invidet Auctori, cujus subservit honori  
Bruma rigens, aestas, auctumnus, veris honestas.<sup>1</sup>

Lack of space alone forbids the listing of other metrical stanzas from the Carolingian poets as well as from those of a later day, which would show how clearly they may be regarded as forerunners of the great modern poets of nature, or even as true interpreters of the beauty of the world in which they dwelt. Francke calls attention to the isolation of the cloisters, to the humble tasks of monks in the way of cultivating the fields, to the close touch in which they came with the outdoor world of fertile valley or wilder summit, as animating causes of the lively sense for nature which many school poems exhibit. If we do but add one other source for the nature description found in such lines perhaps we have the whole truth. This other source are the *natureingänge* and vivification found everywhere in the rude popular song which every age exhibits. Such decorative bits as did not come to school-poetry from a Vergil, a Prudentius, or a Fortunatus, may well have been supplied by the inexhaustible treasury of folk-verse.

<sup>1</sup> *Hildeberti et Marbodi Opera*, ed. Beaugendre (1708), p. 1617; Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. CXVII, p. 1717; Trench, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Mr. G. L. Hendrickson translates the poem:

That I should be harsh and brutish the grace of the springtime forbids,  
And the form of my soul I draw from the things about me.  
To Nature's self for this I give thanks and praise, nor, I think, without reason:  
For her flowers are gay with a thousand varied colors,  
A grassy fleece over the earth she has drawn,  
With leaves the grove is green and bursts with buds,  
Garden plots are bright with the emerging rose.  
Who such beauty can behold nor yet be moved nor glad,  
Him shall nothing have power to stir, and in his heart is discord;  
He who will not proclaim with praise the beauty of earth  
Is churlish toward his maker, whose honor serves  
The stern winter, summer, autumn, and the spring's loveliness.

Among much that is chaff one meets an occasional passage of true poetry which is perhaps the more moving for its very unexpectedness. We should be much the loser in omitting from our study of the mediaeval lyric the elegiac lines of Agius, which express his yearning for Hadumod,<sup>1</sup> the scene in Strabo's *Hortulus* where a mother fights off Death from her exhausted child, or the *Vision of Merchdeof*, written by the English monk Æthelwulf (Clarus lupus).<sup>2</sup> The environment of such passages is largely metrical and stilted. But who can say from the ninth century on just what line divides meter from rhythm? Are the ensuing rhymed hexameters or doggerel verses—no matter if they be measured six feet to the line:

Ordo monasticus ecclesiasticus esse solebat,  
Dura cibaria cum per agrestia rura colebat.  
Nulla pecunia nulla negotia praepediebant,  
Quam capitalia quam venialia nostra piebant.<sup>3</sup>

More important surely for mediaeval philology than to sift and arrange poems carefully according to their meters is the task of calling attention to what is worth while in these verses;<sup>4</sup> to do away with the impression which often still prevails that the Latin of the Middle Ages separates ancient from modern times, much as the desert of Sahara lies between the Atlantic Ocean and the valley of the Nile.<sup>5</sup> And yet another reason why we may be per-

<sup>1</sup> *Poetae aevi Karolini*, Vol. III, ed. Traube, pp. 369 ff.; Taylor, *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages* (New York), 1903, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Poetae aevi Karolini*, Vol. III, Part 2, p. 35; *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 582 ff.; Traube, *Karolingische Dichtungen* (1888), p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> For other examples of such rhymed hexameters cf. Wilhelm Meyer's "Radewins Theophilus und die Arten der gereimten Hexameter" (*Sitzungsber. d. Münchener Akad.* (1873), Vol. I, pp. 74 ff.), or now his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik* (1905), Vol. I, pp. 84 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Winterfeld prefaced the *Stilfragen aus der lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters* with the statement: "Mediaeval philology would surrender the finest results it could possibly attain, it would be dead at its own hands, if it neglected to winnow out from the whole mass of literature that which is vital for us today, that which deserves to endure or to be awakened into new life. There is not overmuch of such material; but they are unlettered who refuse the claim of the Middle Ages to have produced individual compositions of the highest order—real national creations, even though they are written in the language of Rome."

<sup>5</sup> Hark while Budik speaks with trumpet voice: "Since the ages of Pericles and Augustus, whose perfect creations enjoy imperishable youth, until the middle of the fifteenth century, one sees nothing but a desert waste, the dreary and sterile monotony of which is broken only by some scattered brushwood, whose most vigorous productions awaken rather astonishment than admiration." Cf. *Leben und Wirken der vorzüglichsten lateinischen Dichter des xv-xviii. Jahrhunderts* (1828), p. 7.



mitted to divide the mass of mediaeval song into the three categories above suggested is that we desire in all simplicity to detach a certain group from the complete corpus in order to refer it to Germany (or to France, as the case may be). We may then speak of such a group as a national and native product, and not as a cosmopolitan and universal one; if, that is, we succeed in making evident that Germany had previous to its native *minnesang* a more or less popular tradition of Latin love-songs written by Germans then one source at least of the Swabian efflorescence is made clear. And Latin *minnelieder* become the utterance of German sentimentality, if we successfully fix their roots in Bavarian soil. Latin love-songs though they be, we may then regard them as lyrics written by Germans, the outgrowth of southern German life and social conditions, the expression of their immediate environment, just as truly and as nearly as all the tuneful poetry of Goethe is but the later budding of his Main-and-Rhein sojourn, a region where blood flows as lightly and merrily as wine.

#### THREE LYRIC TYPES: RELIGIOUS, SATIRICAL, EROTIC

The first sort of Latin lyric—the religious and didactic poem—existed continuously all through the early centuries and in the Middle Ages. The church hymn and the ode to some particular saint, devout inscriptions on portal and tomb, philosophizing distichs on the evils of this world and the glories of the next, admonitions to chastity and piety, elucidations of Old Testament story—these fairly distinguishable sorts of religious and didactic lyric are foreign to our present endeavor. It is not their Latin diction which obscures all trace of their place of origin—it is rather the dead level of their manner and tone, the unvarying theme of their discourse. Even when they do become elegiac or sentimental, or contain as often bits of nature-description<sup>1</sup> and lilting cadences,

<sup>1</sup> Prudentius, from whom scores of mediaeval hymnodists copied, is full of such nature-descriptions, beautiful in color and often worldly in tone. One may cull them from almost any page of his *Cathemerinon*. The following quatrain is typical of many:

Metinks in all her rustic bowers  
The earth is spread with clustering flowers:  
Odors of nard and nectar sweet  
E'en o'er the sands of Syrtes fleet.

Did we not know the context we could easily confuse such places as this with the utterances of Ausonius in his *De rosis nascentibus*, or his *Mosella*, or with such stanzas as that in which

rising at times to really fervid and emotional utterance<sup>1</sup>—as a body of verse they still remain aside from the real world of life and living men, and their prototype is almost without exception the Bible and the older Latin literature, classical or patristic. Adam of St. Victor, with whom perhaps even Hildebert of Tours cannot dispute the palm of sacred Latin poetry, is a notable illustration of this. A perusal of his hymns will show them to be weighted with learned allusion<sup>2</sup> that rarely fuses into the passion of his verse, that gives no hint of the land of his birth or his adoption. The authors of many such pieces are known—such a one French, this one English, that one of Italy; but yet none should make bold to find localized description in them, they do not smell of the soil that bore them, they do not sing peculiar scenes. They either glow with a fervor single to the kingdom of God or shiver frostily in the chill gleams of professional religiosity and cant. They are generally but the frozen and inane emanation of a poetical rhetoric that was the serving-maid of theology, whether they spring from Aix or Orleans, from Paris or Padua.

There are, however, two related lyric forms which it costs something to lay aside. One is the secular ode modeled directly upon hymns to the Virgin; the other is the religious parody. According to the standards of today the first class is apt to be regarded as lecherous—but in certain cases it is impossible to decide whether we are confronted by mediaeval naïveté or by the most outspoken brutality. It is difficult for us to imagine a deliberate sensuality appearing in the cult of Mary-worship which the twelfth century carried to such extravagance,<sup>3</sup> and yet we may scarcely rid ourselves of suspicion. It is unnecessary to deal with this topic at

Symmachus sings the charms of Gaurus and Baja. Cf. Pope, *The Hymns of Prudentius* (London), 1904, pp. 25, 27, 39, 45, 47, 53, 91, 105, 128; Ampère, *Histoire littéraire de la France avant Charlemagne* (1867)<sup>2</sup>, p. 268; Boissier, *La fin du paganisme* (1891), Vol. II, p. 213.

<sup>1</sup> I should not willingly be thought guilty in this connection of lightly dismissing the claims of mediaeval hymnody to that which in individual instances it attained: the greatest artistic beauty of lyric expression between the Silver Age and the Age of Renaissance. I am merely characterizing with a sole aim in view the great mass of religious and didactic utterance as we find it, say, in Dreves' *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, in the *Poetae aevi Karolini*, and other encyclopedic collections.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gautier, *Œuvres poétiques d'Adam de St. Victor* (1881)<sup>2</sup>; Dreves, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 278, 416; Trench, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gourmont, *Le latin mystique* (1892), p. 202; also Salzer, *Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur und lateinischen Hymnenpoesie des Mittelalters* (1890).

any length and so I will content myself with printing what may be regarded as an *urtypus* of this sort of thing and then dismiss the matter with a note.<sup>1</sup>

Ave, pulera pelle, pulpa,  
Foecundata sine culpa,  
Sine viri semine!

Ave, ejus pulcrimenti  
Totus fulgor firmamenti  
Vincitur vibramine!

Ave, pulera naso, malis,  
Pulera dorso, pulera palis,  
Dentiumque serie!

Pulera, pulcrum aliorum  
Formam vincis etolorum  
Olorina facie.

Luckily such travesties of sacred odes do not seem to contain the living spark. Compared with the long life which dwelt within other kinds of mediaeval lyric they had their ephemeral day and passed. Not so with the bacchic songs which parodied religious lyrics, such as:

Ave! Color vini clari;  
Ave! Sapor sine pari;  
Tua nos inebriari  
Digneris potentia!

<sup>1</sup> Personally I connect such songs with the longer descriptive pieces dealing with the mistress bit by bit, and believe that they both had their origin in monastic and clerical celibacy. Here, too, in my opinion, belong the paidika and pederastic poems. Such themes as the dissection of the weaker sex into a hundred anatomical parts and love-messages to boys we know were seized upon avidly by mediaeval poetasters and the resultant verses had a wide diffusion almost beyond that of any other type of song. In the course of casual reading in mediaeval poetry and prose I have been able to add some thirty titles to the bibliography of sodomy in the Middle Ages contained in Traube, *O Roma nobilis*, p. 308; Du Méril (1847), p. 102; Dümmler *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXII, p. 256; and Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*<sup>2</sup>, p. 375. And as to the other theme—the microscopical study of woman—there is literally no end to the number of its adherents. He who wishes to have his fill of such cataloguing at a single sitting may turn best perhaps to the narrative poem of 150 leonine distichs printed in Dümmler's *Anselm der Peripatetiker* (Halle), 1872, or to Gerald of Barri's *Descriptio cujusdam puellae* in 49 distichs (*Opera*, 1862, ed. Brewer, Vol. II).

Two matters of some importance we may gain from a study of this perversion of poetry: (1) If such voluptuousness be the result, as I imagine, of continence rather than of loose-living, then most of this unchaste verse need not be regarded as the work of ribald and blasphemous clerks whom learning had spoiled for the church, but rather as the tortured fancies bred in monkish cells—fancies that at times border (as Symonds suggests) upon delirium. (Cf. Hagen, *Carmina medii aevi* [1877], pp. 178 ff.); (2) Where no certain records of date exist, we do not need to deny an early mediaeval origin of such songs as the *Lydia bella candida puella*, merely because their intensity of passion appear to the impulsive critic to be "classical" or "modern."

Felix venter quem intrabis!  
Felix lingua quam rigabis!  
Felix os quod tu lavabis,  
Et beata labia!<sup>1</sup>

These drinking-songs had a long and sturdy, if little dignified, line of descendants. There are many reasons for such popularity: they were singable and simple ordinarily beyond their compeers which dealt with sexual love, and they were more natural. Sometimes they contain an honest note of protest, often a sparkling wit. As they get farther and farther from their original *Ave* model they often deserve inclusion among the best drinking-songs—and this is high praise—which the Middle Ages have given us. But for our purpose, which is to contrast popular Latin poetry with that of the school and church, they had best remain in the place to which their origin assigns them: with the religious ode which they caricature. For, whatever may be the animating motive of these stanzas, whether intentional parody or imitation of sacred verses as a matter of pure convenience, the result is the same. They are general and vague in tone, without distinctive appeal. No more cosmopolitan and threadbare expression can be imagined than that which clothes them. If we happen to suspect that a certain Frenchman, say, wrote one of them, it was as a clerk that he wrote, not as a Frenchman—and his model has been so closely followed or transcribed that no trace of authorship can be safely postulated.

Now in laying aside from the discussion the Latin religious lyric it must not be thought that I am prone to doubt the important influence which has been ascribed to it as a model for much of the profane lyric. But we do not need, on the basis of all our evidence, to believe that the mediaeval Latin song owed its very existence to either school or church. I may hope to have made at least acceptable in an earlier essay the doctrine that a German popular balladry ever existed; such poems were of course accentual in utterance, like similar *volkslieder* in neighboring France. And there is no need of our holding in the light of this knowledge that

<sup>1</sup>For a full treatment and bibliography of sacred parody in mediaeval and modern literature cf. Novati, *Studi critici e letterari* (Turin), 1899, pp. 179-310. The listing of a score of other titles which deal with this same subject in one phase or another would have no point here, as Novati's remarkable essay contains them all.

church hymns exercised a predominant influence in bringing about rhythmic verse when the latter was everywhere already.<sup>1</sup> There was as we know a profane poetry in the Middle Ages which imitated awkwardly but assiduously the metrical (quantitative) poems of classical authors. There was, too, a profane poetry which was much influenced by the church hymn and like it employed rhythmic (accentual) expressions. The former of these was ordinarily known as *versus*, the latter as *mod(ul)i*. Immense bodies of poetic writing represent the one or the other of these classes; and still there need be no fear in believing that one sort of erotic lyric—the kind which lent itself most readily to dance and song, to lightness and grace and swing—found its most perfect model in the vernacular measures which German and French already knew. This may seem a dogmatic statement and at first blush unwarranted by the facts. It is an assertion which should not be lightly made, but it may not with justice be lightly dismissed. I would but ask the reader's reservation of judgment until the facts are all displayed, and in order not to duplicate evidence would refer him once for all to what has been adduced in my previous article already referred to.

If we must exclude the first class of lyric, then, from our study of native and national song written in Latin—if the Religious and Didactic poem does not answer to the demands made upon a popular body of verse—let us now examine the other two sorts: the Satire, and the Ballads of Love, Spring, and Wine.

<sup>1</sup> Rather than attempt a statement of my own on this important point I believe it all-sufficient to quote the words of Gaston Paris (*Lettre à M. Léon Gautier sur la versification latine rythmique*, 1866, p. 23): "Pour moi, je pense au contraire que la versification rythmique est d'origine toute populaire, qu'elle n'a d'autre source qu'elle-même, qu'elle a existé de tout temps chez les Romains, qu'elle ne doit rien à la métrique, et qu'elle est avec elle précisément dans le même rapport que la langue populaire, le *sermo plebeius*, avec la langue littéraire de Rome. Toutes deux ont eu la même destinée: la langue lettrée et la versification métrique, mortes réellement avec l'empire, ont conservé chez les savants une vie artificielle qui dure encore; la langue populaire et la versification rythmique ont continué à vivre, et se sont développées et ramifiées dans les langages et dans les poésies des nations romaines. La versification populaire notamment, méprisée et obscure au temps de la grandeur romaine, conservée à peine en quelques fragments par des écrivains amateurs d'anecdotes qui ont sacrifié la dignité à la curiosité, acquit avec le christianisme un domaine immense et une inspiration nouvelle, et produisit bientôt avec une richesse inouïe de quoi porter pendant dix siècles toute la poésie de plusieurs grands peuples: c'est véritablement le grain de sénévé de la parabole, vile semence, dédaigneusement jetée en terre, qui devient un arbre aux mille branches, verdoyant et touffu, sur lequel chantent les oiseaux du ciel."

Some claim has already been put forward for the mediaeval Latin satire as an essentially French thing. Giesebrecht long ago insisted upon northern France as the birthplace of the goliard and of goliardic poetry.<sup>1</sup> And he seems in a way to have won his point, despite the fact that his attempt to identify the archpoet (Goliard) with Walter of Châtillon has failed,<sup>2</sup> and that the claims advanced for Germany and England (even for Italy)<sup>3</sup> have never been definitely quashed. But historians and critics of French literature still treat of Latin satire as a thing apart from the development of national spirit and vernacular progress.<sup>4</sup> Whereas, if we but substantiate their claim to French origin, Latin satires become in a trice the precipitate of Gallic wit. Does the investigator not thus yield to the temptation of regarding the problem which confronts him in the case of any text as a literary rather than a historical one, so that if he be confronted by a Latin satire, or by an oriental tale written in Latin, he is prone to consider them un-French matters, because their sources or their manner are cosmopolitan and extraneous, and not provincial? Would it not be more profitable to view any literary expression that grew hardily in mediaeval France from the background of mediaeval France itself?

For, suppose such forms as appear in France at this time, except for the indigenous *chansons de geste* and the *canço*, were transplanted from other climes; does this mean that we can afford to study them other than as the product of this age and this particular region? Must we not seek in them the idea of their French adapters rather than the original theme which they received from other and older civilizations? The palm tree and the olive which are such characteristic features of the northern Mediterranean land-line are demonstrably new adaptations. The whole plant growth of many

<sup>1</sup> *Allgemeine Monatsschrift* (1853), pp. 16 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hauréau, *Not. et. Extr.*, Vol. XXIX, pt. 2, pp. 253 ff., and Meyer, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. Grimm, and Wright, *opp. cit.*, and Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1869).

<sup>4</sup> So much so that it comes never to mention except perhaps in some single instance where an individual Latin poem offers the source of a French derivative. Cf. Lenient, *La satire en France au moyen âge* (1893); Haessner, *Goliardendichtung u. Satire im xiii. Jhdt. in England* (1905); Langlois, *Revue bleue* (1892), p. 808.

a European landscape has quite changed within historic times. But do we therefore consider this vegetation a foreign thing? Is not any growth which takes root in a new soil and prospers for generations in sun and rain the very product of the new soil to which it has been transplanted? In final analysis is not practically everything a nation possesses borrowed at some time or other from an outland source, at least so far as external form is concerned? We have just termed the *chanson de geste* indigenous to France, but in last reduction is it French or is it German? And who shall ever solve the problem of what to denominate the oral tradition of the Merovingian epoch? Was it still German, all Latin, or a near-Latin known as Romanice?

Now I may not attempt to deal here further with the mediaeval satire as an essentially French development, for several reasons. First, I am at present little fitted for the task; second, if done at all, it must be made the subject of another occasion in order not to confuse the issue of the present one; and third, satirical poetry seems to me only lyric in that highest flight it takes when it ceases to deal with the stereotyped abuses of the Roman church and expresses the poet's personal feeling of injury or shame. So many twelfth- and thirteenth-century satirical poems are nothing more than mere objurgations of the inherent viciousness of woman, of dissuasion from sodomy and greed, of complaint of simony and niggardliness within the church, that the personal element so necessary to all lyric expression is lost.

It must, however, not be felt that these words constitute an evasion of the point before us. He who devotes sufficient study to the task will find that thirteenth-century English satire owes much in form and spirit to the Latin satire which thousands of young English students learned to know at the schools of northern France;<sup>1</sup> and, what is much more to the point, he will learn to distinguish sharply between Latin satires composed on the one hand by Frenchmen and on the other by Englishmen. Thus will an added distinguishing mark be gained for the temperament of

<sup>1</sup> I miss from the otherwise excellent chapter of Schofield on "Anglo-Latin Literature" a sufficient acknowledgment of this debt. Cf. *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (1906), pp. 59 ff.



either nationality during the age in question. And this, I take it, is one of the highest rewards for which the comparative study of literature strives.

And now perhaps we should be ready to take up the third type of mediaeval Latin lyric, the twelfth-century Ballads of Love, Spring, and Wine, and show how a double tradition maintained within this class: one that of the school and of learning, the other altogether popular in tone and as simple as any of the tuneful Romantic songs of thirteenth- or nineteenth-century Germany. But before we come to this final chapter there is still pioneer work to be done. Because there exists no adequate history of mediaeval poetry it is not generally known that before the twelfth century Latin lyrical poetry shows the same types as later. This we shall therefore demonstrate before dealing with the lyrical type of special interest to us.

#### LATIN LYRICAL POETRY PREVIOUS TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY

We have seen thus far that there is a tendency to assign to the protean mime the lyric material previous to the end of the eleventh century, in so far as it was not the work of clerics;<sup>1</sup> and from then forward to bespeak the same material for the goliard. Now the first of these appellations has been shown to be but a generic term for "entertainer," and the same fact is true of the latter word. If we examine the records of twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries we find *goliardi* closely adjoined to and synonymous with *ribaldi*, *bufones*, *leccatores*, *joculatores*, *trutanni*, *vagi scholares*, *parasiti*, *histriones*, *pauperes*, *enchanteors*, *menestrieux*, and the like. "Goliard" like "villein" has become a

<sup>1</sup> Gröber (*Grundriss*, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 180) would surrender practically all this early material to the cleric. Of the poetry during the ninth and tenth centuries he says: "Profane sentiment and sympathy with earthly pleasures, the prerequisites of a secular lyric, were so reckoned a shame by the cleric who alone (!) could use the Latin language, that he dared not find expression for them in poetry. Impenetrable to earthly joy and sorrow alike, he was prone to struggle against worldly impulses, and only referred to them in his writing to warn against them or to implore divine aid in their subduing. And when the cleric does allude to worldly themes he so conquers them, so tones them down, that his personal dignity does not suffer in the least. Very little documented verse of this time (A. D. 800-1000) oversteps such limitations."

wide term of derogation and reproach<sup>1</sup> and little is therefore to be gained by associating the name with a great mass of mediaeval Latin poetry which deals in every possible way with almost everything under heaven from the tenth to the fifteenth century.

I believe it would add everywhere to clarity of discussion, if the term "goliardic poetry" was retained for erotic and satirical Latin verses written by school poets from the rise of learning in the twelfth century down to say the Italian Renaissance; this would allow us to speak of a "popular Latin poetry" when referring during the same period to erotic and singable Latin lyrics which are free from the quibbles and formulae of the more mechanical and cultured poetry. Before the twelfth century the popular sort of Latin verse may be referred to a "minstrelsy," the remainder of it which is evidently the labor of school bench and monkish cell may be denominated "clerical" or "school" poetry. If we wish, we may of course substitute the mime for the minstrel when we speak of popularizing verse before 1100, but this would appear undesirable because of the false implications of the word suggested above. It is at least necessary that we possess concise terms with which to designate the opposing sorts of verse of which we are now come to speak, to avoid the confusion which arises from the consideration of them as one indissoluble entity.

First, let us pass in review what there was in Latin poetry before the twelfth century that furnished models for the verses of the goliards. Such a list is not elsewhere accessible, and I may therefore be forgiven for entering upon the subject at greater length than would otherwise be necessary. The result of this examination will show that for two centuries before Abelard, St. Bernard, and Walter of Chatillon there existed in France and Germany Latin lyrics and ballads pliant in meter, ready in rhyme,

<sup>1</sup>Cf. the suggestive declension of this word written down by some surly mediaeval scholar (Novati, *Carmina medii aevi*, 1883, p. 28):

<i>Singulariter</i>		<i>et Pluraliter</i>
<i>Nom.</i>	hic villanus	hi maledicti
<i>Gen.</i>	hujus rustici	horum tristium
<i>Dat.</i>	huic tterfero	his mendacibus
<i>Acc.</i>	hunc furem	hos nequissimos
<i>Voc.</i>	o latro	o pessimi
<i>Abl.</i>	ab hoc depredatore	ab his infidelibus

sure in diction, emotional in nature; requiring but the life-giving breath and the enlarging mold of a cosmopolitan and awakened age to make of them the graceful poetry of the mediaeval Latin students.

I may not speak for another, but I believe the first sensation which comes from reading in the volumes of *Poetae aevi Karolini* is one of frank disappointment. It is a little perhaps as if one's hand had reached out half unconsciously for a book of poems and picked up a table of logarithms instead. We feel as though it must have been a sorry kind of poetry which devoted itself so largely to epitaphs, inscriptions on church gates, riddles, acrostics, book titles, and the like. The whole is at first blush about as lively as a collection of burial urns.<sup>1</sup> And there are unfortunately many who close the covers of these volumes never to return to them.

If we are patient, however, and continue in our search through the broad acre of measured lines, we begin to gain insight into matters which interest us. As we grow accustomed to the absence of rhyme, to the dearth of theme, to the stilted manner which is characteristic of even the best of this poetry, what with its constant borrowing from classical imagery and its hollow reminiscence of biblical phrasing, we become conscious that while real beauty and earnestness is ever lacking, while the deep issues of life are never touched, there is yet before us a body of adequate diction, a certain level dignity, a smooth, if shallow, surface of expression. How great a step in advance is marked by these things he alone knows who has labored, let us say, with the phrases of the French grammarian Virgilius Maro, with the befuddled *Hisperica famina*,<sup>2</sup> or—truth to tell—with the Merovingian bar-

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps much to be regretted that we have not fuller remains of the Latin poetry written by Irishmen during the sixth and seventh centuries. We know that there reigned in the schools of Ireland at this period not alone among her professed scholars but among the plain missionaries as well a classical spirit, a love of literature for its own sake, and a keen delight in poetry. Cf. Hauréau's chapter on the "Écoles d'Irlande" in his *Singularités historiques et littéraires* (1861), and Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought* (1884), p. 12. For a complete but brief survey of the Irish missions, cf. Haddan's "Scots on the Continent" (*Remains*, Oxford, 1876, pp. 258-94). Cf. also Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (1905), pp. 202-73; Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (1903), pp. 421 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the latest and best treatment of these two, with full bibliography, cf. Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques*, pp. 110 ff., 283 ff.

barisms of Gregory of Tours. In fact the voluble euphuism of Venantius Fortunatus, much as the Carolingian poets owed to it, offers not the sure foundation for coming lyricality that the broad, thin lines of ninth-century canting do.<sup>1</sup> To quote almost at random from the better-known material of this time, here are the opening words of the *Epitaphium Chlodarii pueri regis*:

Hoc satus in viridi servatur flosculus arvo,  
Pulchrior en lacte candidiorque nive,  
Donec altipotens veniat per saecula iudex,  
Qui metet ostrifluas falce perenne rosas.  
Hunc tua, Jordanis, sacrata protulit unda,  
Pampinus Engadi rore beavit eum.  
Livida purpureis vaccinia cincta rosetis  
Vernat ut et rosola gliscit in omne decus,  
Pallida ceu sandix inter viburna refulgit,  
Et nitit imbrifluus Cynthius altus aquis,  
Ut rubit obriza flagranti cocta camino,  
Et rutilat vario Indus honore lapis.<sup>2</sup>

After a little we begin to meet with nature-introductions, or a few lines on outdoor nature tucked away here and there in longer narrative pieces, and occasionally even with whole songs (if one may call them so) devoted to pastoral scenes. Stiff they are still, even the *De cuculo* attributed to Alcuin, and the *Carmen philomelaicum* of Paulus Albarus, and the *Ecloga* of Naso, but they stir the sense with pleasant anticipation of what is to come when poetry shall leave the apron-strings of doctrinal theology and come to wander through the earth alone.

Lumine candoris clarent hic lilia celi,  
Fulbe rose florens imitant his purpura terre  
Et viole pariter stellarum vice coruscant.  
Dum vario redolent pariter unite colore,  
Albeole renitent ceu unio lilia conclis,  
Instar et gipsae conplectens colla puelle  
Lactea. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Winterfeld would have brushed this statement impatiently aside. "Mimes everywhere," he declares. "One citation more or less makes blessed little (*blutwenig*) difference. The Merovingian time was better than its reputation. It has in the poems of its mimes works to offer us that contain more poetic strength than the whole erudite Round Table of Charles the Great could achieve" (*op. cit.*, pp. 74 and 57). I am willing to be convinced of this, but not until the "poems of its mimes" are reconstructed in a way that will make comparison with Carolingian hexameters possible.

<sup>2</sup> *Pauli et Petri carmina dubia*, no. 39.

Work such as this may be *meistergesang*, but it cannot be denied that there is excellence indwelling in it. The time was not yet ripe perhaps for what the next century or two were to bring: a real renaissance of conscious poetry written by men who were alive to their finger tips. And yet when the new springtime came, it was, so far as we may tell, only the late fruition of forces at work during the previous generations, for swelling lines such as the opening verses of the *Planctus Karoli* tell of what is coming:

A solis ortu usque ad occidua  
Littora maris planctus pulsat pectora.  
Heu mihi misero!

This was composed not later than the year 815 and some thirty years thereafter Gottschalk could swing into verse like that to a boy:

O quid jubes, pusiolo?  
Quare mandas, filiolo,  
Carmen dulce me cantare,  
Cum sim longe exul valde,  
Intra mare?  
O cur jubes canere?

Such hints as these show an occasional tendency to depart from the conventional mold of classicality, but they weigh little when compared with the great mass of Merovingian and Carolingian poetry, where elegies, encomia, epithalamia, ballads of battle,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Winterfeld creates a false impression in translating these into the *Nibelungen*-quatrain and in adopting also the phrases of the *Bänkelsänger*; we have but to compare his verses with the original, to see how he reads in what does not exist:

Omnes gentes qui fecisti, tu Christe, dei sobules,  
Terras, fontes, rivos, montes et formasti hominem,  
Avarisque convertisti ultimis temporibus.

Thus begins the story of Pippin's victory over the Avari, and not as we should believe from Winterfeld:

Christe, du Sohn Gottes, der du die Völker all'  
Erschaffen und Land und Quellen, Bach und Berge zumal,  
Der du nach deinem Bilde den Menschen hast gemacht,  
Du hast in der letzten Frist auch die Hunnen heimgebracht.

Likewise in the ballad of Fontenoy:

Aurora cum primo mane tetram noctem dividens,  
Sabbatum non illud fuit, sed Saturni dolium;  
De fraterna rupta pace gaudet daemon impius,

we discover but slight indication of the following:

Des Frührots erster Strahl das Dunkel der Nacht zerriss;  
Da wurde Macht gegeben dem Fürsten der Finsternis,  
Kein Sabbat war's, der graute: gebrochen der Brüder Bund,  
Mit wildem Hohngelächter frohlockte der Hölle Schlund.

Much depends on the translator's whim in such matters: if he translates in the manner of *Genesis*, the result reminds of *Genesis*, if he adopt Horatian diction we are reminded of

and even invitations to love and to wine are complacently measured off at about two ells to the line.

And yet, if there were no further evidence at hand of the Merovingian and Carolingian poetry than what is to be found in the volumes of the *Poetae aevi Karolini*<sup>1</sup> we could still be prepared for an efflorescence of lyrical poetry some two or three centuries later. For, if we but remove the theological allusions of the earlier poems and substitute for them the color and joy of life which the new humanism brought in its wake; if we but exchange for copied hexameters a cadenced swing and rhyme, lyrical pieces are won for us. Majesty, smoothness, and the full vocabulary of poetic diction were already at hand for mediaeval Latin students and poets, and they made good use of their opportunity.

But, happily, another sort of poem was handed down to the goliards—songs from a minstrelsy as brimful of verve and lightness as any to which they attained. Samples (all too few!) of this sort of thing have come down to us. There is the atrabilious correspondence between two Merovingian bishops, Importunus of Paris and Chrodebert of Tours (ca. A. D. 665), written in a rhythmic prose that is curiously effective: five letters in all, of which the following may yield an illustration:

Nay, as true as you're a goat,  
A deal too far you're going;  
The measure as it is

Horace; and naturally if he introduce the terms of mediaeval minstrelsy, we are ready to swear the thing was written by a mime. But after Winterfeld is done and finished, the originals are what they were before he ever began: awkward long lines after the fashion of their time.

<sup>1</sup> It is a shock to learn that we may be called upon to sacrifice the priceless reference to love-songs contained in the Carolingian capitulary of 789 (cf. Boretius, *Capit. reg. Franc.*, I, 63: "et nullatenus ibi *winileodos* scribere vel mittere praesumant: et de pallore earum propter sanguinis minutionem"). Till now this passage has been generally believed to forbid certain nuns to write love-songs and to achieve an interesting but dangerous pallor. Some critics, it is true, insisted on interpreting *winileodos* as songs of joy and acclaim, or even as choral songs of labor (Uhl, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XXXVIII [1906], p. 123), but most of us felt constrained to regard them as erotic verses because of the context in which we found them.

Recently, however, Jostes has translated the Latin phrase above-quoted: "And under no consideration shall they make bold to enlist or dispatch *constables* (Schutzmannen), not even because of their fear: (this we decree) that bloodshed may be lessened." Cf. *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XLIX (1907), p. 310. While it cannot be said that Jostes effectually establishes his point, he supports it with good evidence, and thereby furnishes renewed testimony to the difficulty of definitely gaining the sense of Merovingian Latin.

Runs full to overflowing.  
 You need emasculation —  
 I'm frank enough to tell —  
 To keep the living soul of you  
 From roasting down in hell.  
 Ah, at the day of Judgment  
 You will be in evil case!  
 For lechers are afraid to look  
 Upon God's holy face.<sup>1</sup>

And we have the hint of a mocking distich or song in the quip of an eighth-century minstrel related to us by the Monk of St. Gall (*de rebus gestis Karoli magni* I, 13; *Monumenta Germaniae historica; Scriptores*, Vol. II, p. 736): *Nunc habet Uodalricus honores perditos in oriente et occidente, defuncta sua sorore!*

Less than a century later we learn of how a song made mock of Hug timidus: *qui erat timidus super omnes homines. Sic enim cecinerunt ei domestici sui, ut aliquando pedem foris sepe ponere ausus non fuisset.* This poor count is historically documented, having died (of fright?) at Tours in the year 837.<sup>2</sup>

Of milder tone, but bubbling with cynical humor, are the tales of the abbot of Anjou, and of the hermit who wished to be an angel.

In Angers, it is said, there dwells a priest;  
 The name he bears is that of Father Adam.  
 There's no Angevin man among them all

<sup>1</sup> A translation offered only after much hesitation, because of difficulty in approximating the tone of the original:

Bonus nunquam eris,  
 Dum tale via tenes.  
 Per tua cauta longa,  
 Satis est vel non est!  
 Per omnia jube te castrare,  
 Ut non peccas per talis,  
 Quia fornicatoris Deus indicabit, etc.

Cf. de Rozières, *Recueil général des formules usitées dans l'empire des Francs avant le x. siècle*; Boucherie, *Cinq formules rythmées* (1867), p. 26; *Revue critique* (1867), p. 344; Zeumer, *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi* (1886), p. 220; Gröber, *Grundriiss*, Vol. II, p. 453; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV (1905), pp. 60 f.; Winterfeld, "Die Dichterschule St. Gallens," *Ilbergs Neue Jahrb.*, Vol. V, p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lachmann, *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. I, p. 453; *Pauls Grundriiss*, Vol. II<sup>2</sup>, p. 69; Kögel, *Gesch. d. deut. Lit.*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 55-77. And did not Notker Labeo cry out: *In me psal, lebant qui bibebant vinum?* Other mocking songs of this time are mentioned in *Modern Philology*, Vol. III, p. 437.



With half his kidney, when it comes to bibbing.  
Hurrah, hurrah! The praise we sing,  
The praise we sing of Bacchus.<sup>1</sup>

So drank a churchman in the age of Charles the Great—and the swing of the song reminds us of a later *kommerslied* which celebrates the stout-hearted tippling of Johannes de Foucris:

Propter nimium Est Est  
Dominus meus mortuus est.

And at the close of the tenth century a French minstrel immortalized a little monk in a ditty:

A monk named John, of stature small,  
But in the virtues straight and tall,  
Thus to the older brother spoke,  
Who dwelt with him mid hermit-folk:<sup>2</sup>

"I fain would live like those above,"  
He said, "secure in Heaven's love  
No raiment wear, nor viands take,  
Such as the hands of men do make."

But alack! The grass of the fields was but an ill lining for his paunch, and the frost was not tempered for his nakedness; so came it that he repented him of his desire, ran straightway home, and was content ever afterward to be but a good little hermit.

Another type of song, however, than the humorous and rollicking ballad, or the mournful plaint (like the *verna feminae suspiria*), we find at the very end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century in the spring song: short invocations to the

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Dämmier, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 262, 265; Winterfeld, *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CXIV (1905), pp. 58 f.

Andecavis abas esse dicitur.  
Ille nomen primum tenet hominum;  
Hunc fateatur vinum vellet bibere  
Super omnes Andechavis homines.  
Eia, eia, eia laudes,  
Eia laudes dicamus Libero.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Jaffé, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XIV, p. 469; Piper, *Deut. Nat.-Lit.*, Vol. CCXXI, pp. 232 f.; Winterfeld, *Stilfragen*, p. 21:

Johannes abba, parvulus  
Statura, non virtutibus,  
Ita majori socio,  
Quicum erat in heremo:  
Volo, dicebat, vivere  
Secure sicut angelus,  
Nec veste, nec cibo frui,  
Qui laboretur manibus.

warmth and beauty of it, generally without parallelism. Such are the songs published by Werner,<sup>1</sup> one of which will suffice:

Hyemale	Terra floret
Tempus vale,	Sicut solet,
Aestas redit cum laetitia	Revirescunt lilia;
Cum calore,	Rosae flores
Cum decore	Dant odores,
Quae aestatis sunt indicia.	Canunt alatilia.

Slight in structure, commonplace enough in idea, if you will; and yet as simple in the presentation of its theme as any German folk-song may be. Hushed are the flowing nature-descriptions borrowed from Vergil, softened are the too vivid colors of Prudentius; there remains the slender, almost lean, grace that we associate with earliest German *minnesang*.

And still let us pause to consider two other types of song, for this is necessary if we will give an adequate idea of the complexity of form existant in the Latin lyric before the twelfth century. One is the earliest known *tagelied* or *aube* from the early tenth century: a song of three stanzas in Latin with a Provençal refrain. What scope for speculation does this not offer! It has been determined by critics to be of a decidedly clerical character, though why I know not, save for a chance resemblance of part of one line to a phrase in Ambrose's *Morning Hymn*. Even if the reader after viewing the poem believe it to be ecclesiastic in cast, what matters it? The refrain is undoubtedly taken from popular song, and it is as reasonable to believe the rest a clerical verse modeled on a pre-existent vernacular model,<sup>2</sup> as to think the type of *aube*, or lovers' waking-song, so widely disseminated in mediaeval Europe to have grown from a monkish root.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *Germania*, Vol. XXXVII (1892), p. 230. Traube called attention to the prior publication of *De terrae gremio* in the *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. XLVII, p. 89, and hinted the like in the case of *Hyemale tempus vale* (cf. *Vollmöllers Jahresbericht*, Vol. III [1895], p. 9). I have been as yet unable to verify the latter statement.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. De Gruyter *Das deutsche Tagelied* (1887), pp. 127 ff.; Schlager, *Studien über das Tagelied* (1895); R. M. Meyer posits a double basis for the *tagelied*, clerical and popular, without assigning priority to either, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XLIX (1907), p. 386.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Julian Schmidt, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XII, pp. 333 ff.; Laistner, *Germania*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 415 ff.; Ebert, *Gesch. d. Lit. d. Mittelalters im Abendlande*, Vol. III, pp. 182 f.; Gröber, *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 181; Rajna, *Studi di filologia romanza*, Vol. II, p. 97; Monaci, *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, *Cl. di scienze*, 5th ser., Vol. I, pp. 475, 785; *Zeitschr. f. roman. Phil.*, Vol. IX, p. 407; Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 73.

While Phoebus' clear radiance is not yet arisen,  
 The dawn brings soft light to the lands;  
 The watchman calls to the slothful: Awake!  
     Day is approaching across the moist sea;  
 As it is lifted higher and draws near,  
 Straightway the shadows flee.<sup>1</sup>

Lo, the legions of the enemy burn  
 To overtake the unwary and the slumbering!  
 The herald warns them and bids them arise!  
     Day is approaching, etc.

From Arcturus departs the north-wind,  
 The stars of the sky hide their radiance,  
 The great bear stretches toward the east.  
     Day is approaching, etc.

Whatever this very song may be, it still shows the existence at about the year 900 of what we should otherwise not know to exist for another century or two: popular songs having to do with the waking of lovers from their slumbering danger.

And still, but for the exigency of our space, we are not nearly through with the listing of profane Latin lyrical remnants which attest the presence before the twelfth century of musical and tender poems and songs in France and Germany. But I may now perhaps believe my purpose fulfilled and leave further discussion on this point to another opportunity,<sup>2</sup> except for one poem.

<sup>1</sup>The Provençal refrain is

L'alba part umet mar atras;  
 Sol poi i pas,  
 Ab egal n'irant las tenebras;

or, as Jeanroy suggests,

L'alba par umet mar atra sol  
 Poy pas abigil miracler tenebras.

Monaci believes the refrain not Provençal but Ladin, and the poem composed in Upper Tyrol.

<sup>2</sup>I would again refer the reader to the article on the origins of *minnesang*, which contains many hints I have not repeated. At the end of the first millennium of our era we meet with a Latin poetry that answers adequately every need of story-telling and narrative, jest and farce, anecdote and fairy-tale, animal fable, political satire and ironic depiction, heroic legend and hagiography. The mere citation of such titles as the *Lombard Minstrel*, the *Minstrel's Reward*, the *Daughter of Desiderius*, *Adalgis*, the *Iron Charles*, recalls to us historical songs of presumably high merit; and such remembered poems as *Modus florum*, *Modus Liebinc*, *Lantfrid et Cobbo*, *Alfrad*, *Heriger*, the *Daughter of Proterius*, *Unibos*, etc., sufficiently inform us that Scherer and Kögel are right in demanding for this time a high development in poetical ability. I would by no means reason that these were in any narrow sense based upon lyric song—for they are without exception ballads, satirical narratives, and jesting tales. But I would return to the query of Müllenhoff printed above and ask: If we

A last contribution from our stock will be the song to a runaway boy by a tenth-century Veronese schoolmaster. I wish to present an English rendering of it—based upon the restoration of Traube<sup>1</sup>—because such a one has not yet been published, so far as I know, and there are certain difficulties in translation. It is the first mediaeval example of any worth of the pederastic verse so popular in the Middle Ages:

O admirable image of Venus,<sup>2</sup>  
Whose body is all without blemish,  
That god protect thee, who stars and sky  
Created, who founded sea and earth.  
Not through the wile of the thief<sup>3</sup> shalt thou suffer treachery;  
May Clotho love thee, who spins out the thread.

Preserve the boy, I pray not in jest  
To Lachesis, but with my whole heart,  
To the sister of Atropos, lest she abandon thee.  
May'st thou have as guides Neptune and Thetis

have examples galore of such art, how then should wide expression for the mightiest and most poetic impulse of all—the erotic lyric—have failed?

And before we close our search for idyllic and tender passages of a lyric sort we must needs hunt through the *Ruoliteb*, the *Waltherilied*, and longer narrative poems, to excerpt here and there verses that answer our every purpose in this matter. Besides which, sacred poetry and hymns would be made to yield their quota, for the most superficial search among the many volumes of the *Analecta hymnica* reveals how rich and suggestive some of this material is in the light that it throws by analogy, and at times directly, upon the profane Latin lyric.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *O Roma nobilis* (1891), p. 11. This poem is introduced because it marks a distinctive type and will be referred to in a succeeding chapter. There are two methods employed by investigators of the mediaeval Latin poetry that offends modern convention. One is that of Wattenbach, which publishes everything it discovers to be of value; the other is that of Hauréau, which balks at making known uncomfortable material. Of the two methods the former is alone tenable if research is to be helpfully carried on.

<sup>2</sup>O admirabile Veneris idolum,  
Cujus materiae nihil est frivolum,  
Archos te protegat, qui stellas et polum  
Fecit et maria condidit et solum.  
Furis ingenio non sentias dolum;  
Clotho te diligat, quae bajulat colum.

Salvato puerum non per hypothesim:  
Sed firmo pectore depr. cor Lachesim,  
Sororem Atropos, ne curat haeresim.  
Neptunum comitem habebas et Thetim,  
Cum vectus fueris per flumen Athesim  
Quo fugis amabo, cum te dilexerim?  
Miser quid faciam, cum te non viderim?

Dura materies ex matris ossibus  
Creavit homines jactis lapidibus.  
Ex quibus unus est i-te puerulus,  
Qui lacrimabiles non curat gemitus.  
Cum tristis fuero, gaudebit aemulus:  
Ut cerva rugio, cum fugit hinnulus.

<sup>3</sup>I. e., Death.

When thou farest across the river Adige.  
 Why dost thou flee, pray, when I love thee?  
 Unhappy, what shall I do when I see thee not?  
 Hard material from the mother's bones  
 Created men, when the stones were thrown.<sup>1</sup>  
 And from one of those stones must that boy spring  
 Who is not troubled by tearful complainings.  
 When I am sad my rival will rejoice.  
 I cry out like the hind whose young flee from her.

#### THE MINSTREL AND THE LYRICAL BALLAD

The tedium of the preceding chapter may now be justified, for it has yielded us at least four distinct categories of Latin lyrical poetry before the twelfth century.

1. *Antique meters* definitely modeled on classical Latin forms. Such is a large part of the material which Dümmler, Traube, and Winterfeld have presented to us in the *Poetae aevi Karolini*. These meters continued from the time of the Carolingian revival down through the thirteenth century and frequently as they violate prosodic rules, much as they introduce themes foreign to classical traditions, their original source is evident: the poets of the Augustan age and of Silver Latinity. These lines often remind more of Strawberry Hill than they do of Rome—*leonini, caudati, unisoni*—but they come to express with strange adequacy many sides of the mediaeval spirit: joyous and tearful, cynical and maudlin. The archpoet begs for dinner and a coat in hexameters, and Hugo of Orleans turns them to his hand in the trilogy that depicts the faithlessness of the courtesan Flora.<sup>2</sup>

2. *Liturgical poems* invented for the service of the church. These rhyming structures were "voluminous systems of recurrent double rhymes, intricate rhythms molded upon tunes for chanting, solid melodic fabrics."<sup>3</sup> Dreves has made this material conveniently accessible in many of the volumes of the *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*. Such poems were soon adapted to profaner use by minstrel and goliard and a surprising lightness sometimes characterizes

<sup>1</sup> Refers to the Greek deluge-legend of Deucalion and Pyrrha.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Oxford Gedichte des Primas*, Nos. vi, vii, viii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Symonds, *Wine, Women, and Song* (1884), p. 18; Saintsbury, *The Flourishing of Romance* (1897), p. 6.

jocose narrative ballads and spirited lyrics which are evidently clothed in this originally ecclesiastical form. But, after all, satire and parody were the chief gainers thereby. The rather ponderous movement of these church rhythms lent effectiveness and weight to the former, and inimitable background to the latter.

3. *Lyric survivals*.—Occasionally songs "whispering of pagan gods in exile, encouraging men to accept their life with genial enjoyment" meet our gaze during the early mediaeval period. Such verse are the *Jam, dulcis amica, venito* and the *O admirabile Veneris idolum*: these are the vicarious offspring of individual learning, bear on them frequently the hallmark of no particular age,<sup>1</sup> and have no breath of popular poetry within them. We are not surprised to find them in Octavian's *anthologia Latina* or among the Cambridge songs—pieces of similiar import and like beauty must have been contemporary with the *pervigilium Veneris* and must have continued the classical tradition down into the fifteenth century. This tradition was tenacious of life and presumably never quite interrupted in any century, particularly in Italy, for Rome continued to be felt the head of the world (*caput mundi*)<sup>2</sup> throughout the Middle Ages. A curious illustration of how widespread the remains of ancient knowledge were occurs in a poem of the popular sort sung on the walls of Modena in the first half of the ninth century by the soldiers of the watch:

O tu, qui servas armis ista moenia,  
Noli dormire, moneo, sed vigila:  
Dum Haector vigil extitit in Troja,  
Non eam cepit fraudulenta Gretia.  
Prima quiete dormiente Troja  
Laxavit Synon fallax claustra perfida. . . .

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting in such connection to follow the discussion of the dates of *Lydia bella* and *O admirabile* from the year 1829, when Naeke first discovered the former, to 1891, when Traube with seeming finality settled the age of the latter. Niebuhr, Gregorovius, Ozanam, Daniel, Riese, Baini, and Brambach arrived at widely diversified conclusions because of the apparent absence in this poem of any specific allusion. Cf. Traube, *O Roma nobilis* (1891), pp. 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*; Graf, *Roma nella memoria del medio evo* (1882); Traube, *O Roma nobilis*; Salvioli, *L'istruzione pubblica in Italia nei secoli viii, ix e x* (1879); Dresdner, *Kultur- und Sittengeschichte der italienischen Geistlichkeit im x. und xi. Jahrhundert* (1890), etc.

4. *Popularizing Latin lyrics*.—We have already noted how an eighth century minstrel sang his mocking rhyme;

Nû habêt Uodalrîh  
firloran êrôno gîlth,  
ôstar enti uuestar,  
sîd irstarp sin suester.

This tells us again what we already know so well from a multiplicity of records:<sup>1</sup> that jesters and minstrels were making verses for the willing ears of courtiers and churchmen like Angilbert at the very moment that serious-minded churchmen and school-poets were engaged in polishing their hexameters. Such testimony, together with stray *kommerslieder* and ballads from ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, should suffice to inform us that at this season the buds of earthly lyric were bursting into bloom; inform us that the tenth century was not exactly "the age of gloom, the age of iron, the age of lead," when the human intellect in Europe reached its nadir.<sup>2</sup> This time did open inauspiciously with great political disturbances and social readjustments; it ended in a sort of general panic because all the pursuits of life were stopped in apprehension of the judgment day. But we may no more read of this in our lyric records than we may suspect the cataclysm of the western empire from the gentle euphuism of Sidonius,<sup>3</sup> whose great complaint was that he "could not achieve six-foot lines when seven-foot barbarians were about him."

But there is another sort of popularizing Latin lyric suggested by the *Hyemale tempus vale* and the *Equitabat Bovo per silvam frondosam*: simplest songs of spring and dancing, maying and mating couplets. By no known process of alchemy can we distil these from any of the first three categories of Latin lyric above mentioned; their source is in *volkslied* quatrains, such as have been proved to exist long before earliest *minnesang*.<sup>4</sup> German dance-songs and choral singing must have ever existed in connec-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the collocation in Reich, *Der Mimus*, Vol. I (1903). Pt. 2, pp. 743 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Saeculum ferreum, plumbeum, obscurum*: Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (1903), p. 483.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Christian Empire* (1899) 2, p. 190.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. R. M. Meyer, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 174 ff.



tion with the games and festivals of May.<sup>1</sup> Examples of such songs we find in the *Carmina burana*:

Swaz hie gat umbe  
Daz sint allez megede,  
Die wellent an man  
Alle disen sumer gan. no. 129a;  
Springewir den reigen  
Nu, vrowe min,  
Vröun uns gegen den meigen,  
Uns chumet sin' schin. no. 100a;  
Chume, chume geselle min,  
Ich enbite harte din,  
Suzer roservarwer munt,  
Chum un mache mich gesunt. no. 136a.

And such traditional verses now and then shine through the Latin lyrics which we find in the same collection:

Et sub tilia  
Ad choreas venereas  
Salit mater, inter eas  
Sua filia. no. 114;  
Late pandit tilia  
Frondes, ramos, folia,  
Thymus est sub ea  
Viridi cum gramine,  
In quo fit chorea. no. 108;  
Stetit puella rufa tunica;  
Siquis eam tetigit,  
Tunica crepuit. Eia! no. 138;  
Veni, veni, venias,  
Ne me mori facias;  
*Hyrca, hyrce, nazaza,*  
*Trillirivos!* no. 136.

Crepuscular stirrings are these songs of Latin lyrics and love-ballads which were in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to

<sup>1</sup> It is in these May fêtes that Gaston Paris would have us seek the origin of much of mediaeval lyric poetry; *Journal des Savants* (1892), p. 427. This theory is partially developed in Cesario, *Le origini della poesia lirica in Italia* (1899), and given full credence by Santangelo (*op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff.) after a careful examination of the spring songs of the *Carmina burana*. But surely we do not need to connect these festivals with those of pagan antiquity held in honor of Venus, as Santangelo suggests our doing.

develop a hardier and more complex growth. The minstrel, as early as the eleventh century, and probably long before that, had gone for some of his most effective material where Goethe and the Romanticists went in a later age, to the inexhaustible well of popular song, there to draw new lyrics of his own. When and where this folkpoetry became first *courfâhig* we do not know. The character of the audience the minstrel sang his songs to can only be surmised; like the peasant verses of Neidhart, they may have joyed the lowest or the highest in rank, and it is not yet safe to more than hazard a guess. But one thing is sure: side by side with antique meters and liturgical poems, in no sense derived from these or from certain other lyrical pieces which continued classical lyric traditions, there was for long before the twelfth century a popularizing and lyric Latin *spielmannspoesie* which mirrored the simpler sort of German popular poetry and derived much of its strength and beauty from it.

And because of this long preamble we may now proceed with an easier conscience—if not with a lighter heart—to the second part of our study. This will attempt a differentiation between, on the one hand, highly artificial and, as it were, professional goliard songs and, on the other hand, real Latin *minnesang*.

It may be that some, even much, of the foregoing article might have been omitted on the assumption that it repeated certain things already sufficiently known. But where the material is so vast as that of early mediaeval Latin poetry, where doctors (of philosophy) so carefully disagree as to all the main symptoms of it, where the vehicle in which many of the songs are written still unhappily remains so difficult a thing for us to read; I have been afraid not to go deeper into the foundations than I should have otherwise thought of doing. It is just because "erudition" has hitherto played so large a part in the criticism of mediaeval songs, because the layman has not more easily commanded them, that misunderstandings regarding their nature and their scope have been so long current.

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